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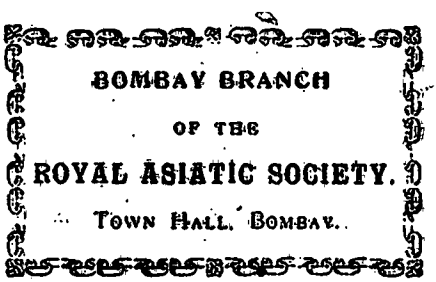

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LIFE

OF

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

VOL. II.

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THE

LIFE,

PROGRESSES, AND REBELLION

OF

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH,

&c.

TO HIS CAPTURE AND EXECUTION:

WITH

14,840.

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE BLOODY ASSIZE,

AND

Copious Biographical Notices.

BY GEORGE ROBERTS,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF LYME REGIS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1844.

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MAP

ILLUSTRATING THE ACCOUNT

of the

BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR

The pink lines mark the Duke of Monmouth's night march to attack the Kings Army.
The existing great drains, and the ancient ones (as being little known) are omitted.

Engraved by J. Gardner, 53 Bower St. Goldsq. Square, London.

Scale of Miles

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LIFE

OF THE

DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

CHAPTER XX.

A. D. 1685.

MONDAY, JUNE 22. at Bridgwater. — March to Glastonbury. — Alarm caused by regular cavalry. — Rainy weather sets in. — Army find shelter in the abbey ruins and churches.—Two troops march to Wells. — Hopes of followers. — They help themselves to provisions and horses. — People think of forming a Club-army. — Explanation of the word. — Alarm of an invasion. — A Quaker from the club-men rides to Monmouth with news that all the country is rising. — Monmouth's commission to the club-men.—Quaker returns with the commission. — Further proceedings. — TUESDAY, JUNE 23. at Glastonbury. — March to Shepton Mallet. — Army quartered in houses. — Intention to march upon Bristol, which Feversham had entered. — WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24. at Shepton Mallet. — March to Pensford. — Harassed by King's dragoons. — Great fire in Bristol. — News of Keynsham Bridge having been destroyed. — Retrospect of occurrences at Bristol. — Bishops sent down to their dioceses. — Anecdote of civil war — King's Proclamation, offering pardon to rebels that should desert Monmouth. — THURSDAY, JUNE 25. at Pensford. — March to Keynsham. — Cross the bridge, which had been repaired.—Counter-march upon Keynsham. — Suddenly attacked by King's horse, with loss. — The King's army being close at hand, Monmouth determines not to attack Bristol. — Arguments about route.—Treatment of prisoners.—FRIDAY, JUNE 26. at Keynsham. — March to Bath and Philips Norton. — Bath kills the herald, and refuses to surrender. — Monmouth disconsolate. — Fears being assassinated. — SATURDAY, JUNE 27. at Philips Norton. — Philips Norton Fight — ends in a *cannonade*. — Both armies draw off. — Inclement weather. — March to Frome.

MONDAY, June 22. — Monmouth's army marched this day through the extensive tract of level peaty common

land, called King's Sedgemoor; by Weston Zoyland to Glastonbury. Forty horsemen joined on the moor.*

Intelligence was brought that the militia had left Wells, and retreated upon Bath and Bristol.†

The King's regular troops were near at hand, and an alarm was created by a party of Lord Oxford's horse.†

Rainy weather now set in, which was much wanted for the land. There had been excessive drought for two years. The winters having likewise proved severe, there was such a dearth for want of rain, as Evelyn, in his Diary, records, had never happened in his memory. The men had to march in an exceedingly wet day; and for some time the weather was inclement. Such is not unfrequently the case in our climate in June and July after a fine April and May, when there is all the appearance, excepting in temperature, of the wintry season.

The commissaries served out provisions on the march. In this wet weather the army arrived at Glastonbury, where the ruins of the famed abbey exist, second only to those of Tintern. A description of them becomes unnecessary, from the numbers who have visited that interesting spot. The abbot's kitchen, still uninjured by time, and those parts of the abbey that afforded shelter, were filled with Monmouth's men, as were also the two churches. Large fires were lighted by them.

Two troops only marched into Wells, seven miles beyond Glastonbury.*

Eleven days had now elapsed since the landing, with eighty-three men only, at Lyme. No opposing force had appeared, except to melt away; no army yet showed itself to dispute their advance. Their numbers

* Axe Papers, and Wade. † Wade.

went on increasing, which produced a confidence not at all unreasonable to men unacquainted with affairs, and the resources the King had at his disposal. The followers said "that God was with them," and they were full of hope of being next Saturday in London, and of placing their new King, Monmouth, upon the throne.*

The increased numbers had greatly added to the demands from the commissariat. Whether any adequate supply had been provided is not now known. Probably the arrangements had been neglected, or not sufficiently attended to, as in the case of arms for the expedition. Many hundreds of unprincipled attendants upon the army may have been mixed with the good and conscientious. This march enabled the Monmouth men to help themselves to the "provisions in the houses of the country people, and to the horses upon the commons." This is the language of the Rev. A. Paschall of Chedzoy, near Bridgwater. The country began to feel the oppressive effects of the movement of a large body of men: alarm was occasioned. While in a state of agitation, on the following day a rumour was spread of many men having landed upon the Severn coast towards Bristol, which gave the Royalists about Bridgwater great alarm. The country now believed this was a second or fresh invasion. Their anger being excited, their sufferings recent, and feeling or believing that they would be subjected to the same treatment and losses from another quarter, they bethought themselves of the method they should adopt for self-preservation. This was to meet and form a CLUB-ARMY, that, as occasion should call, they might stand together for mutual defence.*

This is the first account we have of such an associa-

* Rev. A. Paschall.

tion at this period. As their proceedings will require future mention of them, and they were banded together in imitation of what had been done in former years and troublesome times, some description seems to be required.

The CLUB-ARMY, or CLUB-MEN, of the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament, so called from the weapons they used, or their association, were professedly neutrals. These men were inhabitants of the country, who, from the licentiousness and real wants of the soldiery, suffered from both the contending parties, when the law was dormant, and could afford no protection in the midst of war's alarms. They united to defend themselves, and at first assumed the guise of impartiality, and professed self-preservation as their object; subsequently numbers, success, and opportunity had upon them all the effect which these usually produce upon mankind. Their motto was,

> If you offer to *plunder* and take our cattle,
> You may be sure we'll give you battle.*

Their hostilities were first directed against Lord Goring's force, in consequence of the barbarities of that Royalist. Subsequently their numbers and importance so increased, that Cromwell, in his march to Shaftesbury in 1645, met 10,000, and afterwards 2000, who said they expected Lord Hopton, and were evidently averse from the parliamentary cause. In the neighbourhood of Lyme Regis they prevented provisions from being conveyed to the parliamentary garrisons. The club-men played a very important part only forty years

* Plunder; a word first introduced by the *club*-men into our language. It came from Germany. D'Israeli's Commentaries upon the Reign of Charles I., v. 13.

before this time.* The recollection of their proceedings and success was strong, and a slight repetition of the old cause for uniting produced the same effects; how favourable or otherwise to Monmouth will have to be disclosed.

Two persons were despatched from Chedzoy to ride to the scene of the invasion, and inform their neighbours of the particulars. These men brought back intelligence that there was a considerable number of club-men assembled upon Polden Hill; but that they were about to go home, as the alarm had been caused by a few persons who had landed from a vessel sent down the channel from Bristol to collect news.

The Royalists' alarms were quieted, and they hoped the storm had passed over their heads to visit them no more. But this association of the country people was destined to produce some results. Formed for mutual protection when each needed it, and ostensibly to keep aloof from the contest, like unpledged committees of more recent date, the club-men were to be the sport of the cunning and designing. Such a one, a Quaker, who had attended the club-meeting, seeing how readily the people were moved at this period of excitement, determined upon a double game, which had extraordinary success. He rode from the meeting, June 23., to the camp at Glastonbury, to inform the Duke that all the country was rising for him, and desired a commission, not doubting but that he should at once raise thousands for his service. Though this busy person was not judged fit for being entrusted with a command, still those about the Duke being willing to catch at any thing that promised the least advantage

* Altered from the author's History of Lyme Regis, who quotes Hutchins's Dorset, &c.

to their design, procured a paper or commission to be drawn up in the name of King Monmouth.

"JAMES R.

"WHEREAS we are given to understand that our faithful and loyal subjects in and about Brent Down and Uphill, and other places adjacent in our county of Somerset, have taken arms, and in defence of our person, and of the righteous cause we are engaged in, we could not but in a particular manner take notice of their affection and commend their zeal, which they have given such early marks of against popery and tyranny. And therefore we do hereby justify and allow whatsoever they have already acted on our behalf. And further we do authorise them, or any of them, and by these presents give them our royal warrant and commission to arm themselves in the best manner they can, and to disarm, seize, take, prosecute, and kill, and with force and arms subdue all manner of person and persons that shall appear in arms for James Duke of York, the usurper, or that shall act by any authority derived, or pretending to be derived, from him. And persons whatsoever, whether French or Irish, Papists or others, that shall land upon the coast, and in a more particular manner to prosecute, subdue, and kill Christopher Duke of Albemarle, and his adherents, whom we have already declared rebels and traitors. And we do hereby likewise authorise and require all our loving subjects in all other parts and places upon the coast in the said county of Somerset and Devon, toward the said coast, which will otherwise be speedily invaded by French and Irish Papists, sent for over, and called in to that purpose, which will be to the utter ruin and devastation of our kingdom, and all our loving subjects. Dated at our

camp at Glastonbury, the 23rd of June, 1685, the first year of our reign." *

Having procured this commission, warrant, or proclamation, the Quaker returned in the afternoon, and sent his agents as far as he could all night to assure the country that the news of the invasion was most certainly true, and that they were in extreme danger of having all their throats cut. All were exhorted to meet again the next morning to consult and unite for their common safety. This second alarm reached Chedzoy Wednesday, June 24., and roused all from their beds before sun-rise. The Rev. Mr. Paschall, observing that some of the lowest of his parishioners met together, talked insolently, and in a menacing manner demanded his two men, who were young and stout, to accompany them to the meeting upon Polden Hill, went into Bridgwater with his "tender relatives," taking his two men with him. Soon after the Chedzoy people marched in a body of eighty persons, young and old, with their club-arms, to the Quaker's rendezvous. A Friend sent a man after them to advise them to return home, and to take heed to do nothing against their allegiance. They answered, they would go on to the meeting to see how things were, but would remember their duty. When the Rev. A. Paschall returned from Bridgwater at night, he found the party had come back, who told him the names of the principal agitators at the meeting. This confirmed the supposition previously entertained, that the affair was managed craftily to draw the country in to take part with the Duke. They informed the clergyman that the Quaker had procured the above document, which was read by another person, whom he knew to be

* Rev. A. Paschall. Sergeant Heywood's Appendix. Defence of Fox.

an "ill-man," and who offered himself to lead the assembled multitude against the Duke of Albemarle, then at Taunton. The Chedzoy people openly declared against this, and so took a final leave of them and their meetings. The club-men also broke up, but with resolutions and agreements to meet again, as they did several times before the return of the Monmouth army into that part. Some one sent next day a message, with a letter of their proceedings, to one of the Duke of Albemarle's colonels at Taunton. The Rev. A. Paschall hoped the information would have drawn the Duke of Albemarle to Bridgwater, which would have dashed the design of the club-men, and removed the temptation to the Duke of Monmouth to return in that direction.

Nothing of importance claims our notice while Monmouth's army staid a few hours, during the 22nd and the morning of the 23rd of June, at Glastonbury.

The wet weather continued, and the army marched to Shepton Mallet. Here the men were quartered in houses, many doubtless having found the inconvenience of being exposed to the weather, which was so inclement.

Edward Strode, Esq. came to Monmouth, at Shepton Mallet, and presented him with one hundred guineas.*

"Here the officers were first informed of the intention to attack Bristol." This is the language Wade uses. Perhaps there was at one time, when the occupation of Bristol by a large force, and that too partly of regulars, was known, an intention of passing it without making an attack. Or it may be that we are to understand the first formal announcement of the intention

* Examination of Richard Goodenough, the paymaster of the army. Lansdown MS., 1152.

was made to the officers, for the purpose of eliciting information from those who knew that city so intimately. Colonel Wade states, that he advised the Duke to cross the Avon at Keynsham-bridge, and attack the city on the Gloucester side. This was agreed to, with a deference to the Colonel's local knowledge (he being a Bristol man), which is not surprising. The Earl of Feversham marched into Bristol at the head of two hundred and fifty of the horse guards this day.* Could Monmouth have carried Bristol before the regular forces arrived in that city? Was the four days' stay at Taunton the cause of the King's army reaching Bristol before him? Perhaps there really was a necessity for Monmouth to remain a short time, to consult and arrange his army, putting aside all consideration about the proclamation and processions at Taunton.

In order to obtain possession of Bristol, the army now marched upon and entered Pensford, within five miles of that city. The campaign was now beginning in earnest. Monmouth's rear had been harassed all through the day's march by a party of the King's horse and dragoons. After having taken up their quarters in Pensford they were not disturbed.†

Between nine and ten this evening the army perceived the light of a great fire in or near Bristol. Some supposed the suburbs had been fired, to prevent the forces Monmouth had brought so near from occupying them. The light was caused, as we shall learn, by the burning of a ship.†

Intelligence was brought that the bridge over the Avon, at Keynsham, had been broken down to prevent Monmouth from crossing over to the Gloucester side of Bristol.

* Seyer's History of Bristol. † Wade.

Captain Tyler (Tyley?)* was sent at night with a troop of horse to seize Keynsham and repair the bridge.†

It has appeared useful to introduce some account of the proceedings of that great city, upon which an attack was meditated.

June 16. The Duke of Beaufort arrived at Bristol.

June 17. Several Dissenters had their houses searched for arms.

June 23. The Earl of Feversham arrived with two hundred and fifty horse-guards.

June 24. Monmouth's army arrives at Pensford.‡ Between nine and ten at night a ship, the Abraham and Mary, took fire at the quay; but as it was then high water, the other ships hauled off. Oldmixon says, that upon a false alarm a party of Monmouth's friends fired the ship, to draw the militia in that direction while they admitted him.§ Great confusion prevailed in Bristol at the time the ship was on fire, the people crying out treason and treachery in the streets; but the Duke of Beaufort drew up twenty-one companies of foot in Redcliffe Mead, and threatened to fire the city in case any thing was done in favour of Monmouth.‖ This was effectual.

Judge Jeffreys, in his charge to the jury at Bristol, expressed his belief that Monmouth's army would not have had a design upon that city without great encouragement from a party within. He proceeded to state that the ship was set on fire as a signal to the rebels,

* Tyley's mother and sisters were committed to prison June 30. He was a mercer of Bristol. — *Seyer's Hist. of Bristol.*

† Wade.

‡ Seyer's History of Bristol.

§ Oldmixon.

‖ Axe Papers, and Murch.

and to amuse those within; that if wind and tide had not been for them the greatest part of the city had perished; and yet he adds, "you are willing to believe it was an accident."

Some say that it was told Monmouth, that the Duke of Beaufort had threatened, the moment the citizens of Bristol took any disloyal step in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, he would fire the city about their ears; and that this menace was brought to the Duke at the instant the ship was fired in the river. Upon which, taking it for granted, that the experiment was already making on those who were deemed most devoted to his cause, and being touched with a quicker sense of compassion than is consistent with the purposes of ambition and the trade of war, he said, "God forbid that I should be accessory to the ruin of my friends, or that for any consideration I should subject so great a city to the double calamity of sword and fire."* Dalrymple ridicules these expressions.

Tradition has reported of several villages of Somerset, not many miles from Bristol, that the whole active population joined the Duke, armed with pitchforks, scythes fastened on straight handles, and the like, leaving none at home but old men, women, and children.† Many Dissenters were sent prisoners from Bristol to Gloucester till the rebellion was over. Sixty were sent in a vessel from Rownham, without a mittimus or having been taken before a justice of the peace.‡

Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart. (afterwards Bishop of Bristol, Winchester, and Exeter) was sent down to aid by his presence in quelling the rebellion. Dr. Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, came into his diocese

* Ralph. † Seyer's Hist. of Bristol.
‡ MS. Calendar. Seyer's History of Bristol.

with the same intent. Neither of these dignitaries meddled with arms. The latter was a great blessing to some hundreds of the poor victims of this rebellion. The coming of Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, was in far otherwise. The gentry of Somerset, terrified at the invasion, requested the King to command the services of the bishop, who buckled on at once his armour, which he had worn in the civil wars; and not pleading, as so many would reasonably have done, in the words of the poet, *solve senescentem*, &c., is the only bishop since the Reformation who has taken the field.

Instances of the extraordinary position in which civil war had placed individuals — in personal and unsuitable collision to each other — may be adduced as an addition to the numerous catalogue of events in real life that surpass romance.

The Duke of Grafton, in this contest, engaged in desperate attacks upon his brother, the Duke of Monmouth; the Chancellor of Cambridge, the Duke of Albemarle, fought against the Ex-Chancellor of that university, the Duke of Monmouth; the Bishop of Winchester against the Dissenting minister of the Baptist congregation of Lyme, and the Independent minister of Axminster. Many ministers of different persuasions were with the army.

The King sent to the Earl of Feversham copies of a proclamation, promising pardon to those rebels that should come in to his army and desert Monmouth, and the form of a certificate to be given to those who should "lay hold of the benefit of the proclamation."* At the ensuing assizes only fifty-three men in the whole had certificates allowed them for having taken the benefit of

* State Paper Office. Sunderland Letters.

the King's proclamation.* These probably were individuals whose claims to have certificates as deserters within the time specified was disputed, and they took their trial, and then cleared themselves. If hundreds are found to have deserted from despair of success, being tired of war or from sheer cowardice, I cannot find that they went over to Lord Feversham, but slunk away. The party from Axminster who withdrew and tried to return home certainly had no certificates. The deserters upon the whole fared worse than those who stood by their leader, as they speedily found themselves in the hands of the militia, who were widely spread over the country. The King empowered Lord Feversham, July 2., to prolong the time within which certificates should be granted.*

Thursday, June 25.—Early this morning Monmouth marched towards Keynsham, where Captain Tyler, who had been sent at the head of a troop of horse in the night, had engaged a troop of the Gloucester militia horse, and caused them to retire, leaving behind two horses and a prisoner. By daybreak the bridge was repaired, so that Monmouth marched over at ten this morning to the Gloucestershire side of the Avon with his whole army.†

The weather still continued rainy and inclement. An attack upon Bristol was to be made this night. The state of the weather, and the short distance they were from that city, caused Monmouth to determine upon counter-marching the army into Keynsham, as if the intention was to quarter there that night.†

The army had scarcely taken up their quarters in this long open place, in the high road between Bath and

* Harleian MS., 4689. † Wade.

Bristol, when they were suddenly alarmed by two parties of Major Oglethorpe's horse charging into Keynsham at two several places. Monmouth's horse, as Wade speaks of this affair of cavalry, "unadvisedly engaged," and lost fourteen men, amongst whom was Captain Brand. Three prisoners were taken, from whom Monmouth learnt that the King's army, four thousand strong, was at hand.*

The first mention of Monmouth's cavalry is certainly intended to be slighting. Companies of "ragged horse" cannot be taught in a few days the varied duties of the cavalry service. Supposing the men to have been practised horse-soldiers, would not their horses have required considerable training? Perhaps it will be found that this arm has been unfairly charged with inefficiency and cowardice by those who have not understood the necessary course of instruction to be gone through both by man and horse. This subject will be renewed. Oglethorpe at first took Monmouth's men for friends. Monmouth thought it scarcely possible for irregulars to make their way good against regulars.†

The news of the near approach of the King's army caused Monmouth to determine not to attack Bristol. Wade and Roe strongly advised him to do so. He debated with his officers whether he should march to Gloucester, there break down the bridge over the Severn, and proceed with that river on his flank to Shropshire and Cheshire, where he had friends to join him — though Lord Delamere was now in custody in Chester Castle‡ — or march into Wiltshire, where Mr. Adlam, who had joined the day before, said a considerable body of horse would strengthen his force. §

* Ralph, London Gazette, and Seyer's Bristol. † Ralph.
‡ State Paper Office. Sunderland Letters. § Wade.

The arguments against the march to Gloucester were, that it was a four days' march; that the soldiers wanted shoes; that there was a considerable body of horse and dragoons in the rear who would be continually retarding the march till the foot came up, and would oblige their forces to fight before they could reach Gloucester. It was agreed that as Wiltshire was near at hand it would be better to march into that county, and having joined the horse mentioned by Mr. Adlam, to fight a battle before the King's army became stronger. So they marched away that night, and the next morning were before Bath.*

Thus the Duke of Monmouth turned from that great city, towards which he had been marching from his leaving Lyme. The first great object was defeated; his plans were disarranged. We shall have to trace an altered course, and observe how the Duke endeavoured to make up for the disappointment with respect to Bristol. This city abounded with riches, arms, and stores of all kinds. Had the Duke got possession of it he would have been enabled to arm and pay a much greater force than the King had as yet to oppose him.† Bishop Burnet condemns his conduct in neglecting Bristol, where he would have found much wealth, and have gained some reputation.‡

The prisoners made by Monmouth in his march were confined in Sir Thomas Bridge's stables. One Pope, taken prisoner some few days before, said he was visited by Monmouth's chaplain, and Hicks, who asked them how they were all treated, they said they had not had but a piece of bread for two days, which these ministers

* Wade. † Ralph. ‡ Oldmixon.

said they were sorry to hear, and that it was intended they should receive better treatment.*

Friday, June 26. — In the course of the morning, when before Bath, Monmouth drew up his forces, and summoned that city, which had not then become a place of fashion, to surrender, but without any expectation it would do so. After this bravado, which cost the poor herald his life†, the army marched on to Philips Norton. The foot lay in the field; the officers at the head of their men: the horse were in the town. Monmouth's forces were alarmed several times during the night, but not in earnest till the morning.‡ Lord Feversham had followed them from Bath.

Colonel Wade speaks of Monmouth's being very disconsolate, and beginning to complain that all people had deserted him. One cause assigned was that the Wiltshire horse spoken of by Mr. Adlam did not make their appearance, though the army was near enough for them to have joined if they had been desirous of doing so. Monmouth was so dejected that the officers could hardly get orders from him.† He might have said, in the words of the great dramatist, —

> "'Tis not my talent to conceal my thoughts,
> Or carry smiles and sunshine in my face,
> When discontent sits heavy at my heart."
>
> *Shakspeare's Syphax.*

Severe disappointments had already been experienced. A great city had been lost to the cause, which Monmouth had been confident of gaining possession of. An insurrection at Frome had been suppressed; and the King's troops were at hand in considerable force. The

* Sworn on Mrs. Lisle's trial. — *Howell's State Trials.*

† Dalrymple. ‡ Wade.

Protestant Dissenters were numerous in the manufacturing towns on the borders of Wilts and Somerset, where Monmouth's person was known and beloved. Though his great friend Thomas Thynne, Esq., of Longleate, was no more, still in his progress, many friends had been made. The absence of these must have been keenly felt. Could Monmouth venture upon Salisbury plain, here close at hand? What use could he make of crowds of men from Westbury and Warminster, as there was no store of arms to be put into their hands?

Williams, the Duke's servant, states that Monmouth, like most leaders of insurrection or of wars depending much, or entirely, upon the existence of the individual, was every day alarmed with fears of being shot or poisoned. The reward set upon his head was a great inducement to the turbulent spirits of this period to do the deed.* Captain Matthews had told the Duke he had spoken to several of the officers of the King's army, who would come over to him. This was the place where they were expected to have left their colours and joined the Duke of Monmouth. Nobody came; which caused the Duke, in the bitterness of disappointment, to exclaim "that there was no faith in man."* The followers had doubtless formed a less favourable opinion of their prospects than before.

After having been alarmed several times during the night, Monmouth's forces were this morning just marching out of Philips Norton when they were attacked by the advanced guard of the King's army, under the command of his half-brother Fitzroy Duke of Grafton, a young man of great intrepidity.

This led to what has been so well known and often

* Wade's Evid. Lansdown, 1152.

referred to in the west of England as *Philips Norton Fight,* the first engagement the Duke's army had ever been present at, and—the truth must be spoken—the last very many ever intended to be exposed to again, as will be shown by the immediate desertions that ensued. Very many had joined the Duke who were unfit for real warfare, though the generality were, from the times,—civil wars having raged only forty years before,—more warlike than any similar number would be in the present day. Doubtless numbers joined, as they thought, only in a march to London; the attendant circumstances of real warfare never having been considered.

Colonel Wade's account of the engagement is that principally followed: other particulars are occasionally introduced.

There was a lane a quarter of a mile long that led out of a ploughed field into the town. On each side the enclosures were surrounded with good thick hedges. At the end of this lane the Duke had a barricade made for the security of his quarters, which was guarded by fifty musketeers, commanded by Captain Vincent. Just by this barricade was a little by-way, which led into the back part of the town through a gentleman's court, near to which court the foot was encamped in two fields.

The grenadiers, the forlorn hope of the King's army, led by the Duke of Grafton, advanced through the lane to the barricade, which the Duke of Monmouth perceiving caused his own regiment to march through the gentleman's court to the side of the lane and attack them in flank. Many of the grenadiers escaped through the hedge, for the Duke's regiment nearly surrounded them. The Duke of Grafton forced his way through

Monmouth's men.* Dalrymple says he was near being cut off by the rebels' horse, who were beaten back by the grenadiers on horseback.

A party of the King's foot had lined a hedge that flanked Monmouth's army, which Colonol Holmes was ordered to attack. This led to fighting behind hedges for an hour. Holmes had an arm nearly shot off, which he effectually removed with a knife without other assistance.

Fox says Monmouth's men were victorious, and drove back the King's forces opposed to them into the open field, where they joined the forces newly come up.

The King's forces drew up on an eminence about 500 paces from the hedges, while Monmouth placed two of his field-pieces at the mouth of the lane, and the other two upon a rising ground near it on the right, and formed his army along the hedge. From these stations a firing of artillery was begun on each side, and continued near six hours, but with little or no effect; Monmouth, according to Wade, losing but one man, and the King's forces not one by the whole cannonade.†

Fox says Monmouth had experience that his raw troops could in certain situations at least face the more regular forces. It was something for the counties to learn that the Monmouth men had been overtaken by the King's regular army, and had not been at once dispersed.

Barillon wrote to Louis XIV. that the Royalists' loss had been greater than was said in the engagement at Philips Norton: there were full 100 men killed on the spot where the Duke of Grafton advanced.†

* This last information from Fox's Hist.; the rest from Wade.
† Fox's History of James II.

The weather continued unfavourable. The rain fell heavily.

Towards evening, Colonel Wade informs us, Monmouth had been persuaded by Colonel Venner, of whom our informant was clearly jealous, who had recovered from the wound he received at Bridport, against all reason, to retreat. The matter was debated, and, upon a more general consultation, this advice was overruled, and it was determined to cut passages through the hedges and offer battle.

Before this was effected, the King's army not willing again to engage among the enclosures, annoyed by the rain, and disappointed at the little effect produced by their artillery, began their retreat to Bradford, in order to refresh the men harassed with nine days' march.*

Monmouth's forces had no wish to pursue, because, says Wade, with a sagacity deserving a more experienced soldier, and a discernment so completely established soon after, "they had no manner of confidence in their horse."

In this action the King's army lost about eighty men, Monmouth about eighteen; amongst whom were two captains of foot, Patchall and young Holmes, Blake, Col. Holmes's lieutenant, and Chaddock, a captain of horse, unfortunately killed by his own men. Fox rates the loss on the King's side at forty, and those entirely common men, except Seymour and May, volunteers. Many who were wounded crawled away and died in the standing corn, where their bodies were found by the reapers.†

Monmouth's men kept the field till eleven at night,

* Fox's Hist. Dalrymple.

† Private communication of Mr. Robert Blunt Singer, of Frome.

when, leaving great fires, they marched, as Wade says, he supposes by Colonel Venner's advice, to Frome, in a miserably rainy night, up to their knees in dirt, almost to the destruction of their foot.* •

The King heard that most of those rebellious and disorderly persons about the New Forest are willing to come in upon assurance of pardon. The Earl of Gainsborough was to promise it, except to Colonel Dore and such others as the Earl may think fit.†

Lord Feversham was informed that tents for 3000 men, and for the artillery, were provided.

* Communication of Mr. Robert Blunt Singer.

† Sunderland Papers. State Paper Office.

Note. —An old man of Philips Norton, named Rossiter, states, that his great grandfather fought at that place, being an officer under the Duke. Cannon were planted by the "Old House," now the George Inn, the Duke's quarters. Rossiter points out the hill, about a mile north-west of the town, to which the King's forces retired after the action.

An aged female states that one of the streets was once called Monmouth Street; but no one now remembers such a name.

In passing a gate near Philips Norton a countryman held it open for Monmouth's men, who asked him, according to their usual custom, "Who he was for?" The man, from ignorance or hardihood, replied, "*For the King;*" upon which they immediately slew him on the spot.—*Communication of Mr. Robert Blunt Singer.*

Twenty years ago an old woman used to sing this ditty: —

"The Duke of Monmouth is at Norton Town,
All a-fighting for the crown.
Ho — boys — ho," &c.

CHAPTER XXI.

A. D. 1685.

SUNDAY, JUNE 28. at Frome, where Monmouth arrives at 8 A.M. — Great expectation from Frome. — How disappointed. — The suppression of the rebellion at Frome by the Earl of Pembroke. — Intelligence of Feversham having been reinforced by thirty field-pieces. — News of Argyle's defeat. — No Wiltshire horse arrive. — Monmouth's despondency. — Great desertion. — Some of the Axminster followers leave the army. — King's army march to Westbury. — MONDAY, JUNE 29. at Frome. — Monmouth considers the undertaking has failed. — Proposes to repair with his officers to some sea-port and escape. — Real intention and object. — Intends to leave his followers to take the benefit of the pardon offered. — Officers who came from Holland were excepted. — Subject pursued. — Determination to stand together. — Lord Grey opposes the breaking up the army. — Account of desertion of officers. — They did not desert, but went to buy arms. — Design upon Ireland. — Colonel John Speke's leaving the army treated of. — Louis XIV.'s opinion of Monmouth's position. — Local information. — TUESDAY, JUNE 30. at Frome. — March to Shepton Mallet. — Intended route. — King's army march from Bradford to Westbury. — —Scotch regiments arrive from Holland.—The Quaker from the club-men again arrives with information that the club-men, ten thousand strong, will join if Monmouth will march towards them. — Curious proceedings respecting the club-men. — Monmouth's army reduced in numbers. — Live at free quarter. — Retreat of Monmouth's army may be said to have begun this day. — WEDNESDAY, JULY 1. at Shepton Mallet. — March to Wells. — Account of violent behaviour of Monmouth's followers. — Whether they damaged the cathedral. — Death to assert Monmouth's legitimacy. — THURSDAY, JULY 2. at Wells. — March to Pedwell Plain, the upper part of Sedgemoor. — Meet the club-army of only one hundred and sixty men. — Monmouth in a state of great despondency. — Return of the army that was to have entered London in triumph spreads consternation. — Deputation from Taunton to desire the army will not return thither. — One of the deputation circulates the King's pardon to deserters. — A thousand desert. — A party of horse go on to Taunton and bring this person prisoner to Bridgwater. — Albemarle retreated upon Exeter. — Barillon the French ambassador's account of Monmouth's proceedings. — King's orders to militia officers. — FRIDAY, JULY 3. at Pedwell Plain. — March to Bridgwater. — Given out that Bridgwater was to be fortified. — Churchill penetrates Monmouth's real design. —

His letter. — Monmouth leads the club-men. — Fieschi anticipated by Silver. — King directs Feversham to hang those he may find deserving. — Terror inspired by the march of the King's army close upon Monmouth's rear.

Sunday, June 28. — The Duke of Monmouth arrived at Frome at eight in the morning, where he put his troops into quarters.* From this manufacturing town, to which the Duke's march had been directed when he turned from Bristol, he had great expectation. How early this town made a demonstration, and what was the result, may be learned from an account highly characteristic of the times, given to the King by the Earl of Pembroke, lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire, which was published in the London Gazette.†

"Being informed that the rabble at Frome, headed by the constable, had put up in the market-place the traitorous declaration of Monmouth, he marched thither on Thursday, 25th June last, with 160 horse, and mounted behind some of them thirty-six musketeers. Being arrived near the town, he heard great shouting and beating of drums, and was informed that between 2000 and 3000, upon the notice they had of his coming, were assembled from Warminster and Westbury, some with muskets, some with pistols, some with pikes, and others with scythes. Notwithstanding the small number the Earl of Pembroke had with him, he marched into the town at the head of his muskets, followed by the horse. The assembled multitude seemed at first very resolute; and as the Earl came in at the gate, one fired at him, bidding the rest to fire, when his Lordship came to a particular spot; but in a moment they all threw down their arms, and fled out at the other end of

* Wade. † June 25 to 29. 1685.

the town. Lord Pembroke, having caused the *Declaration* to be pulled down, made the constable write, with his own hand, an abhorrence of the same, and a declaration that Monmouth was a traitor, and put it up in the same place, and then committed him to prison."

We shall find that the Earl of Pembroke was considered by the King to have been too lenient to this constable. More on this head in another page.

Information was brought at Frome that the Earl of Feversham had been reinforced by thirty field-pieces. This general told the country, as he marched, that he would treat as rebels all who gave any succour or assistance to Monmouth's men.*

It was here the Duke of Monmouth first heard certain news of the Earl of Argyle's discomfiture in Scotland. Six days before, the Earl of Middleton informed the House of Commons, June 22., of the taking of the grand rebel Argyle; which the House received with all imaginable joy and satisfaction.† The Mayor of Oxford returned thanks for Argyle's defeat. There was a bonfire afterwards.‡ Fox adds, "It was in vain to seek for any circumstance in Monmouth's affairs that might mitigate the effect of the severe blow inflicted by this intelligence."

Not one of the 500 horse expected from Wiltshire arrived. The Duke wrote pressingly to Colonel Danvers to hasten the rising of the city of London in his favour. Monmouth's forces had marched further before the Colonel's answer was received. Pretending to take offence at the Duke's assuming the crown, he answered,

* Ralph, and London Gazette, June 25 to 29.

† Commons' Journals.

‡ Letter, 26th June, from the Earl of Abingdon to the Earl of Clarendon.

that "he was not obliged to keep faith with one who had broken it with him."* The comments upon the courage and sincerity of Danvers made by Perrot have been already alluded to.

The Duke of Monmouth relapsed into his former despondency; a great cause of which must certainly have been the very great desertion among his followers. All accounts refer to this as occurring here. One of the Duke's men told the Earl of Pembroke that 2000 had deserted that day.†

Monmouth's followers had become alarmed at the greatness of the force in arms against them; had heard of Argyle's discomfiture; and perhaps now found how great the toils of war are, and how utterly hopeless the cause would prove. May not some have learnt, or suspected, that a desertion was meditated on the part of the officers, or those who began the rebellion? Cowards never want an excuse for leaving danger for security.

The minister who recorded, in the church-book of the Independent chapel of Axminster, the proceedings of the party that left that town with Monmouth thus smooths over, by favouring words, the desertion of his friends at Frome: —

"A little before this dreadful battle was fought," says the writer, "some of the brethren belonging to this church were *inclined to leave the army*, and if by any means to *return back to their own habitations;* and by the good providence of God some of them returned home in safety, amongst whom Mr. Towgood, pastor, and Mr. Lane, elder; others were apprehended: those who stood by the Duke to the last fared much better."‡

* Dalrymple. † London Gazette, June 25. to 29.
‡ Church-book of Axminster.

Monday, June 29.—The King's army, under Lord Feversham, marched this day to Westbury.*

The Duke of Monmouth's affairs had become desperate; and he indulged in well-grounded complaints, while in this very disconsolate state, "that all people had deserted him; that nobody stirred anywhere to make a diversion; that not one of the horse talked of by Mr. Adlam appeared; that he was likewise disappointed in the desertion he expected from the King's troops; and that this undertaking must of necessity come to ruin."† Colonel Wade continues, "And therefore HE thought it advisable to leave his army, and repair with his officers to some sea-port town, and make his escape with them beyond sea." Fox gives this information as if it had been proposed to the Duke to desert his followers; whereas Wade asserts that the Duke himself suggested this important step; and also the Colonel expressly mentions, that the Duke and his officers were to escape together, and not individually make for the most convenient sea-ports whence they might find a safe passage to the Continent.

The "officers" alluded to are stated, in Echard, from Ferguson's MS., to have been "all those who came over with the Duke." Fletcher having left, and Dare being dead, the number was only eighty. Poole was the sea-port thought of, where the party who were to take horse this night were to seize a vessel and return to Holland, leaving the infantry to the mercy of the enemy.

This intended flight of Monmouth, and the officers who accompanied him from Holland, is not to be viewed in the shameful light of ordinary desertions. Nothing

* London Gazette. † Wade.

could be imagined more disgraceful than the conduct of the Duke of Monmouth, as the case is often put, — that at Frome, whether proposed by himself or suggested by others, the Duke of Monmouth meditated riding off with his officers to a sea-port, and so escaping to Holland, leaving the common soldiers to the cruelties of the approaching King's army.

Let the Duke of Monmouth and his officers find a successful defender in me before the candid reader. The case ought to be put thus: —

The Duke of Monmouth had failed in the objects of his expedition, and despaired, as a soldier, of being able to succeed with such men as his. In this hopeless state of affairs, whether proposed by himself or suggested by others, the Duke, upon reading the King's Proclamation that had been just published, was willing to save his devoted followers by leaving them to take the benefit of the pardon offered; while those who were excepted out of the pardon would escape with himself beyond sea. Thus all would be preserved!

Had this proposal been adopted, what extensive bloodshed and suffering would have been averted from the west of England! Did Monmouth and his officers doubt the possibility of effecting all this mode of concluding the insurrection offered? We shall find that it was discussed.

Monmouth's cotemporaries, who were most hostile to his cause and person, do not hazard a word against his courage. They understood the nature of the proposed plan for ending the campaign, in the manner described, at Frome. A circumstantial account by the Rev. A. Paschall confirms this statement: —

"The King's Proclamation came out when Mon-

mouth's army was in the eastern part of Somerset. The chief officers met to consult; and seeing their cause was hopeless, they agreed to persuade the Duke to go to some port, and save himself by ship for a more favourable time, and leave *all* the *army to take the benefit* of the *pardon* offered;" or, in the language of Echard, "to the mercy of the country."—"Upon repairing to the Duke with the result of their consultation, he is said to have been more heartily pleased with this motion than with any thing that had happened to him since he left Lyme. But there were those about him who overruled the business another way; and resolutions being taken to go on, all care was taken to hide the pardon from the multitude."*

The council of war entertained the question. Fox appears to have misunderstood Colonel Wade's account of the proposal to the council, and the result; and understood that *one* only approved of the measure while all the others condemned it.

Colonel Wade was clearly unfriendly to Colonel Venner. He writes that the proposal was mightily applauded by Colonel Venner; but Lord Grey and others opposed it as a thing so base, that it could never be forgiven by the people to be so deserted, and that the Duke must never more expect to be trusted." At length it was laid aside, says Wade, and the Duke resolved to stand by his army. He hoped the guards would not fight against him†; and depended upon the common soldiers of the regiments that were sent from Holland joining him.‡

* Heywood's Appendix.

† Exam. John Jones, Lansdown, 1152—1306.

‡ Exam. Rich. Goodenough, Lansdown, 1152.

The Duke of Monmouth knew what real warfare was, having actually served in armies. Many officers with him on this occasion were not soldiers, or bred to arms. His opinion was worth more than theirs. Seeing there was no room for hope of success, he proposed, or adopted when proposed by others, a means of saving ALL who had taken up arms with him. In doing so, of course he would have left the people of the towns who had committed themselves in espousing his interest to their fate, or in other words, he would have *abandoned the cause.* But, as matters stood, Monmouth could not resist the forces brought against him; the King's army became masters of the country as they advanced; and the cause was, in his better judgment, lost. Lord Grey and others entertained hopes, whether from a rising in London or elsewhere, or from desertions from the King's army. Having formed this opinion, it would have been base in them to have recommended a step which involved a sacrifice of the cause while their own safety was provided. There were two parties in the council—the one despaired of success; the other had hopes. Both recommended a course in accordance with their several opinions. Neither should be viewed as the dictate of cowardice or of courage.

It may appear strange that Lord Grey should be anxious to promote a continuance of war. But it is possible his Lordship might have been really unconscious of his deficiency in point of personal courage till the moment of danger arrived, and even forgetful of it when passed, or desirous of atoning for his cowardice at Bridport.* He was not, *manu fortis,* personally brave.

* Fox.

I shall conclude the consideration of this proposed termination of the rebellion by asserting that Monmouth recommended that which was the best for the interests of those who had joined with him in this bold attempt: the result proves he did so. May it be hoped that cowardice, a desire to hasten back to Lady Henrietta Wentworth, or a base desertion of those devoted followers, are charges that cannot be fastened upon Monmouth? He clearly saw himself without arms to increase his men, and without money to subsist them. Must we conclude with Ralph, that the Duke showed that the undertaking was beyond his genius as well as his strength?

Wade, whose circumstantial narrative has hitherto been most valued, after recording that the Duke determined to stand by the army, adds, "Nevertheless Colonel Venner, and Major Parsons, Holmes's major, went away privately."

In his examination before the committee, which has not been published, Wade deposed that these officers "went away privately without Monmouth's knowledge: the first would have persuaded Monmouth to go off too."*

This has been received as correct information of the desertion of these officers. It may be likewise stated of all who left at Frome that they have hitherto lain under an imputation of having basely deserted the army.

Major Holmes assigned the chief management to Colonels Foulkes and Venner. Wade is not mentioned as one much concerned in the private affairs and council of the Duke.† I may say he was not on the staff.

* Lansdown MS., 1152—1515.

† Exam. before Committee, Lansdown, 1152.

It will be a gratifying task to be able to adduce evidence in favour of those who have suffered from an unjust imputation.

J. Tillier, in his examination, stated that Colonel Venner and Major Parsons did not run away, as it was reported, but were sent by Ferguson, Major Wade*, Captain Tyley, and others, to Amsterdam, to buy arms and ammunition to send to England.

John Waltere, pilot to the Duke of Monmouth's ship, was to pilot those ships that were to carry the arms for Ireland, and to land near Carrickfergus, and there to take a castle. Waltere said there would be men to receive the arms. Some Cromwellian officers were to take the forts of Cork and Kingsale and the city of Limerick by treachery; and if his Majesty drew his forces from Scotland, they would rise in Cheshire; and if the King sent his forces to Ireland, London would rise. Mr. Hooke was sent for this purpose; and all the prisoners were to be set at liberty, and to assist in setting up a commonwealth. They looked to have all the arms and ammunition in the storehouse at Dublin. There was a plan about blowing up a magazine. John Cragg was to kill the King at Windsor, or at the Lord Mayor's show, and have for doing the deed 1000*l.* from Ferguson.

Mr. Roger Hoare of Bridgwater, when asked in a taunting manner what the Duke meant to do with so small a parcel of men, and bad men, said, the Duke would have assistance enough both in men and money from Amsterdam; "for what," added this zealous supporter of the cause, "do you think he hath been doing

* Lansdown MS., 1152—1279. Wade did not know of this expedition, it appears.

all this time?"* There was a hope of assistance of some sort from Amsterdam: a report of this kind may have been spread to encourage the friends of the cause.

Richard Goodenough, in his examination, deposed to Colonel John Speke—once member of parliament for Ilchester, the most influential gentleman who had joined the Duke,—having gone away at Frome.† In the absence of any positive information as to any particular service or duty that called him away, it may be sufficient to state, that nowhere does any charge of desertion stand recorded against him. Can we suppose that Taunton chose this gentleman in 1695 to be their representative, knowing him to be a coward and a deserter of the cause he had taken up? It is unreasonable to entertain such a thought. His leaving the army was doubtless upon business, like the case of Colonel Venner and Major Parsons, which was well explained at that period.

Louis XIV.'s opinion of Monmouth's chance of success at this time was expressed to his ambassador Barillon:—‡

"As the Duke of Monmouth has already lost his vessels, and has no considerable city to retire to, there is every appearance that he will soon meet with the same fate as the Earl of Argyle, and that his attempt will have served to render the King of England much more absolute in his kingdom than any of his predecessors."

* Information of William Ludlow, about 17th June. Lansdown, 1152—1291.

† July 13. Appendix to Fox. ‡ Lansdown, 1152.

The Duke lodged in a house that stood on the site of that of T. Bunn, Esq.; some say on that of Mr. Gough.

Many of the cavalry stayed at Lower Keyford, on the south side of Frome. The Monmouth horsemen came and took possession of the *Old Nunnery House*, turned the oak tables upside down, put the hay between the legs, and ranged their horses round to feed therefrom instead of rack and manger. They caused great confusion in the family.*

Some of Monmouth's men are reported to have committed various robberies and murders in the neighbourhood of Cottle's oak, north-west of Frome on the Wells road.

Tuesday, June 30.— The Duke of Monmouth, having, as before mentioned, determined to prolong the contest by keeping the field, intended to march this morning to Warminster. However, upon receiving intelligence that the Earl of Feversham had marched early with the King's army across the intended line of route,

* At Oldford lived, at this time, a man named Toop. He was busy brewing ale, and fearing the arrival of Monmouth's men, he hid his money (a considerable sum) in the grains in the mash-tub. They came and ransacked the house, took what they pleased, and then said they must have the grains for their horses. To deny them was useless; but the old man begged they would spare him a *skilletful* for his pig. To this they consented; but with the skillet of grains he dipped out his money and carried it away unknown to them to a safer place, and for many years the old man laughed about outwitting the Monmouth men. When the Duke came from the Norton fight, a party of his men went to *Roddenbury Hill*, and another party were stationed at *Marston Hill*, near Bull's quarries (about two miles apart), and sentinels were placed between, to give notice of surprise, or any communication necessary. One of the sentinels seeing a snake, drew his sword to kill it, the glittering of which alarmed the next sentry, and put the party on Marston Hill in confusion, expecting a surprise, which on examination proved a false alarm. — *Communicated by Mr. R. B. Singer.*

Monmouth determined to move in an opposite direction.*

Colonel Wade states that the King's army marched from Bradford to Westbury; but this they might have done without crossing the Duke's line of march. To have crossed it the King's army must have been further in advance from Westbury, in the direction of Warminster.

It was this day that the Earl of Sunderland wrote to announce to the Earl of Feversham the arrival of the three Scotch regiments from Holland, sent home by the Prince of Orange to assist in putting down Monmouth.†

This day's proceedings cause further mention to be made of the CLUB-*army*, which delusion may possibly have influenced the movements of Monmouth's army more than is generally believed or suspected.

A Quaker that had been with the Duke at Glastonbury came to inform him of a great *club-army* that was up in the marshes of Somerset, near Axbridge, ten thousand strong, and that if the Duke would retire towards them they would join him.‡ Wade speaks of this announcement as if it was a matter of importance, and had influenced the movements of Monmouth's army. After making the statement, he continues, as if the latter resulted from the former, "he marched upon Shepton Mallet."

It will be necessary to revert to the proceedings of the club-men.

They "had a meeting this day near Bridgwater, and a letter was sent from the captains of two companies of militia horse in that place to inquire the cause of their assembling, and to require them in the King's

* Wade. † State Papers. ‡ Wade.

name to repair to their homes. No head person could be found to give an answer: the messenger understood that the Duke was expected in Sedgemoor, and that the club-men were resolved to meet him." The Quaker club-man who came to the Duke had a narrow escape. Being very busy in prosecuting these matters, the Rev. A. Paschall wrote to a militia colonel at Taunton, who sent a troop of horse to arrest him and others. They seized the Quaker, who, it will be remembered, had offered at the great club-meeting upon Polden Hill to lead against the Duke of Albemarle. The other escaped, "and rode to the Duke of Monmouth, and persuaded him into a belief that he had great numbers ready to join, and then returned to the club-men to stimulate them to exértions. When the Duke was marching back he drove in many by telling them that if they did not join they would most certainly be undone."*

Monmouth's army arrived at Shepton Mallet this night, and were quartered in houses. The forces had been here only a week before in different circumstances. Then they were marching onwards full of hope. Their numbers had now been thinned by desertions; they had suffered by the weather; their money was nearly spent, and they paid for nothing, but lived at free quarter upon the inhabitants. This circumstance must have caused a great change in the treatment they experienced. We shall find that the King specially directed Lord Feversham to pay for every thing, and that immediately.

The retreat may be said to have commenced with the march from Frome this day. The brave, who remained

* Rev. A. Paschall.

with their leader, discovered many symptoms of feeling for him which they felt not for themselves.

This generosity touched the heart of Monmouth.*

What determination was come to by Monmouth and his officers about continuing in the field, or if any at all was fixed on, is not known. On leaving Shepton Mallet Monmouth designed to march upon Bridgwater.

Wednesday, July 1. — Intelligence was received that there were in Wells some of the King's carriages (baggage-waggons, it is presumed), guarded by a small party of dragoons. The army marched to that city and secured them.† Monmouth had thirty-eight carriages with him, mostly filled with provisions.‡

The London Gazette gives this dreadful account of the conduct of the Duke's followers at Wells: — "They robbed and defaced the cathedral, drinking their villanous healths at the altar, plundered the town, ravished the women, and committed all manner of outrages." James II. wrote to the Prince of Orange, that the rebels had sufficiently plundered Wells, church and all."§ Oldmixon alludes to this in favouring words: — "The Duke's soldiers, thinking some of the cathedral men at Wells a little too impertinent, were somewhat free with their appurtenances, which I think was all the damage done by them."

The proposed restoration of that surprising structure, Wells Cathedral, adds to the interest that is felt as to the nature of the damage it sustained from the Monmouth men. C. R. Cockerell, Esq., the learned expounder of the wonders of the sculptured figures of that edifice, and the architect chosen to effect the restoration,

* Dalrymple.
† Wade.
‡ Axe Papers.
§ Dalrymple. Letters, July 8.

has obligingly communicated his opinion: — "I do not apprehend any extensive damage to have been done by them, the Monmouth men, or at other period. Indeed, it must be a matter of surprise and admiration that so little mischief has been perpetrated on those venerable works, and it must be owing to some peculiar solicitude upon occasions of evil intention towards them in the residents of Wells.

"Whatever unscriptural or apochryphal sculpture existed seems to have suffered a systematic destruction from the reformers, as the 'Coronation of the Virgin,' 'the Saviour in Judgment‡, with Mary and John on either side.'

"Various apochryphal histories of the New Testament seem to have been purposely destroyed, and the series of 'Early Preachers of Christianity' (apostolical), towards the West, have suffered rather, I apprehend, from their vicinity to the ground than from any determined destruction; but *nothing scriptural* has been *seriously damaged.*"

This is the second town in which the army paid for nothing. Some violence and confusion, with robbery of the cathedral and private houses, occasioned the exaggeration.

This day is remarkable, as that after which to declare Monmouth's legitimacy would be to incur the penalty of death.*

* And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, at any time after the first day of July aforesaid, shall by any printing, writing, preaching, or other malicious or advised speaking, declare or assert that James, late Duke of Monmouth, is the *legitimate sonn* of our late blessed soverigne King Charles the Second, or that the said James hath a tytle or good claime to the imperial crowne of

Thursday, July 2. — In the morning Monmouth marched towards Bridgwater, expecting to meet with the great *club-army*, which was said to be favourable to his cause. Instead of ten thousand, it proved to consist of only one hundred and sixty men!!* They were waiting for the Duke many hours before he came. † This is the force that joined under the command of a Quaker named Thomas Pheere, eighty or ninety in number only, as Mr. Axe estimates, with a white apron for colours! ‡

The route lay through Glastonbury to Pedwell Plain, at the east end of Sedgemoor, where the army arrived late, and bivouacked for the night.

The Duke was in a state of despondency. When at Glastonbury, this day, the Quaker club-man, noticing his melancholy, had the boldness to slap him on the shoulder, and calling him by his name, bid him be of good heart, for he had so many thousands of club-men to fight for him.† This man had gone with a party of sixteen horse to arrest two clergymen, and concert measures with the club-men on Polden Hill. A servant was sent thither to get information. He brought back word that Monmouth's army was returning, and would speedily be in Bridgwater. This threw the town into confusion, which disliked a second visit. The Rev. A. Paschall and friends rode as far as they could westward.†

this realm, or of any other his Majesties dominions and countries, that then any such person or persons so offending, and upon the oaths of two lawful and credible witnesses, upon tryal, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due course in law, then every such person or persons bee deemed, declared, and adjudged to be a traytor or traytors, and shall suffer pains of death, and also lose a forfeit as in case of high treason. — *Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II., Appendix*, 147.

* Wade. † Paschall. ‡ Axe Papers.

The news of the return of the army that was to have proceeded to the metropolis, and there to place Monmouth on the throne, spread consternation among the friends of the cause. This return was unexpected, and was received as a proof of ill success in war.

When encamped on Pedwell Plain, some members of the corporation of Taunton arrived. They formed a deputation sent to desire Monmouth not to bring his army back to that town, which they feared he was about to do, as their town would be utterly ruined, being exceedingly impoverished already. The Duke is said to have replied, "They had done well not to have desired me to come from Lyme to them."* Mr. Axe records that the Duke answered he would do as he thought best, and that the Taunton men feared their town would be burnt.†

One of the deputation who came with this address is reported to have brought with him a copy of the King's proclamation of pardon, and to have so made it known among the soldiers that the next morning, when the roll was called, there were found to be a thousand of their men wanting.* The Duke inquired the reason; and hearing how it was occasioned, a party of horse was sent to Taunton, the Duke of Albemarle having retired to Exeter, to take up this person; who, being brought a prisoner to Bridgwater, was threatened with death for his offence in having published the proclamation. He was carried into the fight to take the fortune of war there, but found an opportunity of escaping.*

The Rev. S. Alford, a descendant of the vicar of Weston Zoyland, has received a tradition that the Monmouth men pulled his ancestor out of bed and

* Paschall. † Axe Papers.

beat him, and that he was ill-treated by the King's forces.

The question as to the obtaining certificates or not by the deserters from the Duke's army was treated of, June 24.

A letter from the French ambassador, Barillon, to his master, gives the latest information from the seat of war in Somerset; and communicates the general belief that the Duke of Monmouth was falling back upon Bridgwater, with an intention of fortifying it.*

"I have now to give you as exact an account as I can of the state of the Duke of Monmouth's affair: it is not exactly known how many men he has; they say in London 20,000. I believe he has really eight or ten thousand, of which 6000 are tolerably well armed; the rest are not sufficiently well armed for a field of battle. It is clear his forces have gone on increasing; and it seems they have not acted against him with the promptitude and vigour which would have been necessary to finish at once an affair the consequences of which may be dangerous. But the small number of troops of his Britannic Majesty has not been sufficient to enable them to fall at once upon the Duke of Monmouth, and stop his further progress. It would have been necessary to have left London unprotected, which would have been very imprudent, for men's minds are in such a state that the least incident might cause great disorder there.

* * * * * *

"More than two hundred suspected persons have been arrested there, among whom are many rich merchants and other rich persons of note. This causes a

* Fox Append. July 16.

great change in people's minds, and much interruption to commerce. The people secretly favour Monmouth; and that would openly appear, should an occasion present itself which would allow them to declare without great danger. The King of England is well aware of this; and is determined not to leave London upon any consideration. It is certain that if any movement is made in any part of England, Monmouth's affair will become more difficult, because it will be necessary to separate the King of England's troops, for they can place no dependence upon the militia, who are more disposed to favour Monmouth than the King's party. The news which came yesterday is, that Monmouth, having taken and pillaged the town of Wells, is gone to Bridgwater, which he designs to fortify. It is a post where, it is said, he can subsist very well, having in his rear a very fruitful country, and full of the factious: it is even said that he cannot be attacked in Bridgwater but by separating the King's troops, and making points of communication upon the river, which is very broad at that place. This requires time, and more regular troops than Lord Feversham has under his command. The three Scotch regiments have passed through London, on their way to him. Mr. Lasnis will have in a few days a regiment of 600 horse in a condition to march. The three English regiments are in the river, and will march towards the army. All these together will, in twelve or fifteen days, make up 7000 men.

"Up to the present Lord Feversham has not been in a state to undertake anything very vigorous against Monmouth. The Royalists' loss has been greater than was said in the engagement at Philips Norton; there were full 100 men killed at the spot where the Duke of Grafton advanced. It is clear that the Duke of Mon-

mouth subsists with facility, and that the people furnish him with necessaries more willingly than they do to his Britannic Majesty's troops."*

The Duke of Albemarle intimated his intention, July 1., of marching out of Exeter, to which he had retired. The King expressed his approbation. The Earl of Bath, the lord-lieutenant of Cornwall, agreed to remain at Exeter during the Duke of Albemarle's absence. The latter was directed by His Majesty to secure the passes, and prevent men, provisions, and horses, of which last there was great need, from being carried to the rebels.† The Duke of Beaufort was to send his horse to prevent provisions from being carried to Monmouth's army, but not to engage.† The King was desirous of knowing "what effect the proclamation published by the Earl of Feversham had; and if the Earl thought it may be of any service to give poor people, who may have been deluded, more time to come in." His Majesty left it to the Earl to prolong the term limited, and agreed to confirm whatever the Earl should promise to the country.†

The mayors of Lyme and many other ports were ordered to allow no passengers to go beyond sea without the King's or a secretary of state's pass. No horse was to be transported.‡

The Monmouth army marched from their bivouac on Pedwell Plain, a part of Sedgemoor, to Bridgwater. Wade states, the object was to refresh the men and put their arms in order, which much wanted attention.§

* Translated from the French Letters in the Appendix to Fox's History.

† State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers, Inland.

‡ State Papers. Lord Sunderland Coll., ii. 249.

§ Wade.

This officer was quite in ignorance of the business which occasioned some to leave the army at Frome, and which he thought was an act of desertion. Could he be ignorant that Monmouth's aim was to get away from the King's army? Warrants were sent before to summon in the country people with mattocks and shovels, as if the Duke intended to fortify Bridgwater. Something of this was done, but only to secure their quarters and amuse the world, as the Duke intended nothing less than to stay in that town.* It was generally believed that the Duke really intended to fortify Bridgwater. Some militia soldiers set about doing this against Monmouth's army, but soon desisted, and followed the other fugitives in their western progress.†

Monmouth's real design was penetrated by Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, who communicated it to the Earl of Clarendon.‡

"Gomerton (mis-spelt for Somerton).

"I find by the enimes warant to the constables that thay have more mind to gett horses and sadells than anny thing else, which lookes as if he had a *mind to break away* with his horse to som other place, and leave his foot intrenched att Bridgwater," &c.

Singer writes, this is altogether an extraordinary letter of Lord Churchill's; it was not to literary acquirements that the master spirit of the great Marlborough was to owe his never-dying fame.

Monmouth did intend to break away towards Gloucestershire and Cheshire.

The subject now leads to the last mention of the club-men, who have figured in rather a ridiculous light

* Axe Papers. † Rev. A. Paschall.

‡ Singer's Clarendon Correspondence, July 4.

in our pages. It is said that the Duke of Monmouth let Lord Grey lead the army into Bridgwater this day, while he, as a mark of particular favour, led the club-men.*

It was well for the individual who was reported to have procured the troop of horse to arrest the Quaker and his companions that he was not in the way. The principal followers of the Duke spared no exertions to discover him. One offered forty guineas, pretending a desire to save him from danger; another offered a troop of horse to guard him if he could be found. In like manner every common soldier passing through the parish asked his neighbour where he was, and made proffers of five pounds to any that would discover him. Friday, July 3., the Duke sent a party of thirty or forty horse to take him and his man up, but they searched his house in vain.

The Rev. A. Paschall dwells upon the proceeding as evidence that the minds of the Duke's followers were very much intent upon this club-design, for otherwise it is not likely that they could have been so much concerned about one whom they thought to have acted to their prejudice therein.*

Beyond all doubt Monmouth's expectations were raised by these statements, that large bodies were on foot, and were disposed to join him. Had the Duke possessed a store of arms, we must have considered the club-meetings as very prejudicial to his cause. These associations and meetings upon Polden Hill, &c. gratified the restlessness of the time. Many were unable patiently to endure the excitement to which they were exposed. Without these safety-valves, the assemblies

* Rev. A. Paschall.

already described, they must have taken the field with Monmouth; whereas they marched from their parish to some elevated spot — listened to speeches — passed hours in excitement and conversation, which turned upon their doings in the great Rebellion; and hundreds, like the good men of Chedzoy, went back to their homes, tired in body and satisfied in mind, without entering upon more perilous enterprises.

James II. expressed an opinion, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, that Monmouth marched upon Bridgwater in order to speak with his ship; but the King hoped his ships, which were going round the Land's End, and two fitted out from Bristol, would take her.* The King had been informed that a mariner had been pressed at Lyme to navigate the ship, often styled the frigate, to the Bristol Channel. We know she really reached Spain, where the master and Kerridge the mariner were seized as traitors. The statement that Captain Trevanion, of the Suadadoes frigate, captured her in the Bristol Channel, is incorrect.*

The proverb is true, that "there is no new thing under the sun." Every day brings to light facts which prove that what have been deemed new discoveries were, many of them, known and practised in former years.

In the century whose events this history portrays there was an office held by Captain Silver, who was styled the *master-gunner* of England, and whose province embraced those many artifices for the destruction of human life which excited confidence and admiration in those who possessed them, but which are now considered in the light of toys, since the art and practice of

* Dalrymple. Letter, July 3.

war is so much better understood. This master-gunner had a brother, who was of Bridgwater, and was of kindred genius with himself — perhaps desired to emulate his brother's fame. He invented a machine, which he offered to the Duke of Monmouth, to be used in his cause in the defence of that place against the King's army. Silver's discovery consisted in the arrangement of many musket-barrels, which were to be discharged at once, sweeping any narrow entrance of the town through which the King's troops might advance. Oldmixon, who was led into the erroneous belief that the Duke would make a stand at Bridgwater, accounts for his not adopting this substitute for cannon, owing to the absence of the noise of great guns, which was, it seems, considered necessary to inspire confidence in raw soldiers. The villanous Fieschi, whose attempt to destroy the King of France was attended with such murderous results, must yield the palm of priority of invention to Silver. While the former wretched murderer is obnoxious to our deepest detestation, we may say, in allusion to the latter, —

> "Horrid war invents
> New methods and a thousand forms of death."
> *Senec. Hipp.*

It now appears that there is a machine in the arsenal of Vienna, bearing date 1678, by which fifty muskets could be discharged in any direction, and at any angle, by the application of a single match. Silver had probably heard of this.*

The King's army closely followed Monmouth. The King directed Lord Sunderland to write to the Earl of Feversham, July 2. 1685, to instruct him to pay as he

* Mrs. Trollope, "Vienna and the Austrians," describes this machine.

goes; anticipating that if two armies lived upon the country without paying, they would drive the people to a state of desperation.

The commander-in-chief, the Earl of Feversham, has been blamed for some executions which he ordered after the capture of prisoners in battle. The fact of his having done so has been received as a convincing proof of his cruel disposition. As to Colonel Kirke, the palliating any thing that he did would have been dangerous some years ago. Truth will prevail; and the real person who suggested or directed the hanging without trial, and even without a battle having been fought, may, for the future, be known by the following extract:—

"His Majesty thinks you might have done well to have hanged any persons you found deserving" at Frome, "as he would have you do at other places if you shall see cause; but will have nothing taken from the people without paying for it." The King had caused Lord Sunderland to write, June 30., to the Earl of Pembroke, who had committed the constable of Frome, to state that he "thinks it fit that order be given that the constable be forthwith *hanged* as he deserves."—The Duke of Albemarle was told, July 1., that, "his Majesty having consulted the most able in the law, they say that such rogues as those of Kerton, who proclaimed the late Duke of Monmouth king, may be hanged without bringing them to a formal trial. The King leaves it therefore to your direction to proceed in this matter as you shall see cause; but would have some of them made an example of for a terror to the rest."*

* All from State Papers. Lord Sunderland's Inland Letters.

The regular army inspired great fear in the minds of the quiet inhabitants of the town of Somerset. Whiting, the Quaker, who, when the whole population was engaged in, or deprecating the evils of war, was making love at Somerton, stood aghast at the newly-arrived forces. He writes: "And there came down the Queen's guards (as they said), under the Lord Churchill, into the parish, and terror marched before them, (for we could hear their horses grind the ground under their feet, almost a mile before they came,) and 'twas reported there were six houses to be burnt."—Alas! the Quaker's dear friend, Sarah Hurd's house was one: it was not to be consumed by Cupid's torch. There was, laments Whiting, "a papist in the parish, a base wicked fellow, who owed Sarah Hurd money, and was thought to be a very ill instrument by informing, so that she was in great danger, but through the Lord's mercy was preserved; for when they came to the cross, near her house, they inquired for Captain Tucker's (who was out with the Duke), and went and ransacked his house, cutting and tearing the beds, hangings and furniture, to pieces, shaking out the feathers, and carrying away the bed-sticks, and what else they could; letting out the beer, wine, and cider about the cellar; setting fire to a barn that joined to the dwelling-house, to set that on fire also, but being a stone-tiled house it did not burn that; and so making what spoil, and carrying away what they could, they returned to Somerton."

Mr. Gould, of Somerton, who died at a great age, about 1826, used to relate the account of Monmouth's rebellion, given him when on the laps of his aunts Molly and Betty Tucker. One animated story was their being in Somerton church, at service, when the

drums beat upon the arrival of the Royalist army. The effect produced upon the congregation was awful; they rushed out of the church painfully sensible that war was at their doors. Many went never to return. To bury their money was the business of all classes. This accounts for so much being found since that period, in pulling down old houses, &c. See the History of Lyme Regis, for the discovery of a large sum, and various local accounts.

CHAPTER XXII.

A. D. 1685.

SATURDAY, JULY 4., at Bridgwater. — Report of the landing of 8000 French.—Monmouth looks to the metropolis for a rising.—Followers leave to expedite this business. — Men go to Taunton to see their wives. — SUNDAY, JULY 5., at Bridgwater.—Detachment sent to bring some guns from Minehead. — Ferguson's sermon. — Description of King's Sedgemoor. — King's army under Feversham march through Sedgemoor from Somerton. — Mr. Sparke views their march from Chedzoy tower. — Sends Richard Godfrey to Weston Zoyland to learn their numbers and position, and then to inform Monmouth. — Upon news of Feversham's march Monmouth prepares to march away into Cheshire. — Carriages are loaded when Godfrey arrives. — Monmouth judges that the King's army may be surprised. — At three P. M. calls a council. — Situation of Feversham's camp. — Council advise an attack by night if Feversham did not intrench. — Godfrey sent to ascertain. — Reports that the King's army does not intrench. — Omits mention of a rhine or great drain. — Determination to attack the King's army. — Monmouth and officers ascend Bridgwater tower. — Rendezvous. — A maid runs out to tell Feversham. — He offers her violence. — She does not disclose her information. — Most of King's officers drunk. — Liquor served out to Monmouth's men. — Estimate of Monmouth's forces at Sedgemoor, and of the King's army. — Colonel Matthews's advice. — BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR, MONDAY, JULY 6. — Line of march. — Godfrey, or Newman, the guide. — Where he went out of the route. — So many strange stories accounted for. — Whether Monmouth knew of the great rhine? — Disposal of the King's forces. — Patroles learn of Monmouth's march. — Monmouth approaches the King's camp. — The alarm given to the King's army considered. — Lord Grey's horse challenged by Douglas. — Jones's horse engage. — Had the horse succeeded Monmouth would have won. — Monmouth marches towards the lighted matchlocks. — His men come to the ditch; are commanded, upon pain of death, not to go over. — Monmouth's regiments fire without orders. — His cannon do execution. — Bishop Mews brings up the King's artillery. — Confusion in the rear caused by the retreat of the cavalry. — Feversham orders his horse to cross the great ditch. — One battalion of Monmouth's infantry charged without success. — Williams, the Duke of Monmouth's servant, points out to his master the King's horse on their flanks. — Monmouth disarms for flight. — Lord Grey exculpated. — Opinion as to whether

Monmouth fled too soon. — Churchill's arrangements. — King's infantry cross the ditch, and Monmouth's foot run. — Number slain. — Remarks upon the principles of the combatants.

SATURDAY, July 4.—The two vessels sent out from Bristol to cruise for the King on the coasts of the Severn landed some men on the north-west coast of Somersetshire, near a spot where the Rev. A. Paschall was, like so many others in these times, "hiding and shifting." This occasioned as much alarm as a landing to the eastward had previously done. Hundreds of the country people ran together, being made to believe that no less than 8000 French, &c. were landed, till messengers, sent about on purpose, assured them that the report was not true.*

Monmouth still looked towards the metropolis with hopes that a powerful diversion might be made there in his favour. Major Manley and his son left Bridgwater, receiving five pounds from the paymaster† for expenses, to endeavour to create an insurrection in London. Hooke, the Duke's chaplain, had left the army before this, to forward the rising, which Colonel Danvers, Manley, and Payton had undertaken to make in the city. Danvers proposed to have the King shot as he came to Somerset House, or stabbed in Whitehall. Hooke threatened, if these did not desist, to discover all; and owing to this circumstance, which James II. credited, his friendship with the King is to be accounted for.‡

Wade did not know from what place Hooke took his departure. Great secrecy was observed. Many, like Hooke and Manley, were despatched upon the most confidential missions, replete with peril, and the only ones likely to save the cause in which they had embarked. When Wade referred to the departure of Colonel

* Rev. A. Paschall. † R. Goodenough's Exam.
‡ Clarke's Life of James II.

Venner, Colonel John Speke, and Parsons, at Frome, he knew nothing of the business that called them away, and, as we have shown, clearly set these officers down as deserters. Tillier's examination cleared up that matter. Here, in the case of Hooke, Wade was not in the secret. We, however, learn from King James himself, that he was no more a coward than the others, but was actively engaged in planning an insurrection.

All this day was spent in exercising the men, and putting their arms in order.

Great numbers went from Bridgwater, like workmen at the close of the week, to Taunton, to see their wives and relatives, and returned, for the most part, on Sunday.* This proves how much the hearts of the brave men of that town were in the cause; and that the Devonshire militia had not returned thither. The furlough granted to these men cannot be approved of in a military point of view; for the King's army had arrived before they had returned to their camp.

Sunday, July 5. — A detachment of horse, variously estimated — Paschall says eighty or a hundred, — under the command of Captain Benjamin Hewling, were despatched from the camp to Dunster and Minehead to procure horses, and bring away some guns that lay upon the quay at the latter place. The inhabitants in that direction were favourable to the Duke's cause; so the Rev. A. Paschall, who was staying there, rode to Honiton.† Ferguson, who had been disappointed at Taunton, when prepared to preach the following day in St. Mary Magdalen's, addressed the army in the Castle, taking for his text the 22d chapter of Joshua, verse xxii. "The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it be IN REBEL-

* Wade. † Paschall.

LION, or if in transgression against the Lord (save us not this day)." *

How interesting must have been the scene; how truly concerned the congregation were in the subject of the discourse. Undoubtedly a large portion felt that they were engaged in a religious as well as a political cause; and the exaggerated evils of their time caused a depth of feeling which we can in this century but faintly imagine. The sermon is lost; but in its place some remarks appropriate to our subject are submitted.

There is no point in human concerns wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are so identified as in this great question of resistance by force to established government. Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes, in most instances, the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, it may be truly said †, distinguishes the well-considered enterprise of the patriot from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success is not in the power of man; but to deserve success by choosing a proper time as well as a proper object, by the prudence of his means no less than by the purity of his views, by a cause not only intrinsically just but likely to ensure general support, is the indispensable duty of him who engages in an insurrection against an existing government. Upon this subject, the opinion of Ludlow, who, though often misled, appears to have been an honest and enlightened man, is striking, and forcibly expressed. "We ought," says he, "to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds, to believe the power under which we

* Axe Papers.

† See Paley's Political Philosophy, chap. iii. (latter part.)

engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise, I shall account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just." *

The extensive tract of level peat-moor, containing 13,522 acres, called King's Sedgemoor, reaches from below the town of Bridgwater in a south-easterly direction towards Somerton, the ancient capital of Somersetshire, with parts that continue in several directions among the hills, and form pretty vallies. The river Parret runs north-west through the west side of the moor, which is about five miles broad. A range of lias hill, called the Polden Hill, bounds the moor on the eastern side, separating it from another tract of peat, the Burtle moor, or Turbary, extending from Glastonbury to the sea, — the great field from which peat is supplied for the consumption of this part of Somersetshire.

The Earl of Feversham entered Sedgmoor this morning from Somerton with all his forces. Mr. William Sparke, a respectable inhabitant of Chedzoy, ascended the tower of the parish church, which commanded an extensive view, and with the aid of a spy-glass, now the property of W. Stradling, Esq., viewed the advance of the King's army towards Weston Zoyland, commonly contracted into Weston. Being a well-wisher of the Duke of Monmouth, he immediately despatched Richard Godfrey to Weston, in order to learn the numbers and position of the King's forces. Godfrey, thus suddenly called on to enact the part of a spy, was to hasten, so

* From Fox's Hist. of the reign of James II., p. 185. — *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 235.

soon as he had gathered his information, to the Duke of Monmouth at Bridgwater.

Intelligence had been brought to Monmouth that the King's army had moved from Somerton.

The Duke in consequence made preparations to march away, which he intended to carry into execution the next evening. The route of his proposed flight was by a night march by Axbridge to Keynsham, thence to Gloucester. At this city he intended to cross the Severn, beak down the bridge, and keeping that river on his right flank, to take precisely the route he formerly intended into Shropshire and Cheshire *, to unite with his friends there. It was given out that the route was to Taunton, or nearer the coast westward. †

The carriages were loaded ready to accompany the Duke's army in this proposed flight. Richard Godfrey had entered Bridgwater, obtained an interview with the Duke, and had given an account of the position of the King's forces. The possibility of surprising the King's troops in the night appears to have struck the Duke of Monmouth *, who, at three P.M., called the field officers together to consult whether it was advisable to attack them.

Five regiments of Lord Feversham's army were encamped in the moor at a place called Penzoy-pound, in Zog, in the parish of Weston, close under Weston village †, the identical spot where Fairfax drew up his army forty years before on his march down the moor from Langport to Bridgwater, and where Goring's army lay at the siege of that town. Two thousand foot, in five regiments, lodged in the camp †; 500 horse were quartered in the village of Weston Zoyland, which was

* Wade. † Paschall.

made head quarters; and the militia, about 1500 strong, were at Middlezoy and Othery.* The artillery was drawn up opposite, and commanding the road to Bridgwater. The guns could be avoided by approaching the King's camp by another route.

The council agreed that it would be advisable to fight if they could surprise the King's army in the night, provided the King's army did not intrench. Godfrey was sent back to ascertain if they did so or not. He returned to Bridgwater to say that *they did not intrench*, and received a guinea for his pains.† This was correct information. But in order to avoid the King's artillery, and by another route to approach the army, a royne, rhine, or great ditch or drain, would have to be crossed. This lay directly in the route of the Monmouth army, and was a formidable obstacle. The old rhine is not in existence. It must not be confounded with another, "Sedgemoor drain," or "cut," which is crossed in some places by cradle-bridges, and is about forty-two feet broad, or with the modern Bussex-rhine.‡ Godfrey not knowing or dreaming of circuitous marches, and not having had any rhine to cross on his way to the King's camp from Bridgwater, said nothing of this formidable obstacle in the way of the Duke's march, which, better than an intrenchment, protected the King's camp on the east side. § This man's literally true, though singularly incorrect report confirmed the council in their determination to attack the King's army, as being unprotected by any work.

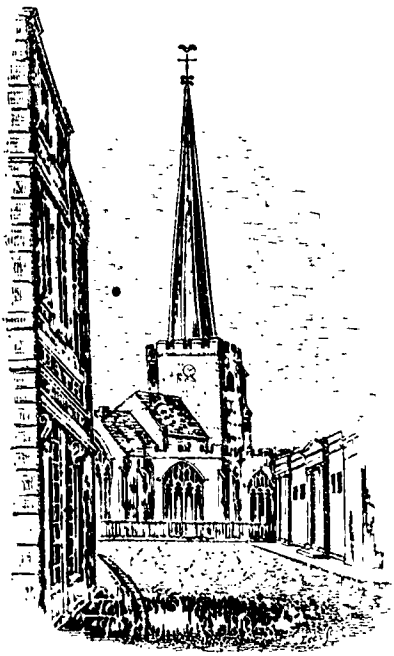
About three in the afternoon, it having been deter-

* Stradling. Chilton Priory. † Paschall.

‡ A labourer, Richard Ando of Weston, aged eighty years, told me the old rhine had not water more than two feet deep in some parts, but the soft mud was deep enough to bury a man.

§ Wade.

mined to attack the King's camp, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, and some of the principal officers, ascended Bridgwater tower to view the situation of it,



distant from thence about three miles, by means of spy-glasses.* Monmouth recognised Lord Dunbarton's regiment, and observed that those foot-guards, of which he had been the beloved colonel, were posted on that side of the camp that was proposed to be attacked. He expressed some concern at this circumstance, adding, "I know those men will fight; and if I had them I would not doubt of success."

The country people brought word that the Earl of Feversham and his troops were very remiss; that the

* Oldmixon.

troopers were in bed, and the foot revelling and drinking cider in their camp; so that the Duke promised himself success, and said, "We shall have no more to do than to lock up the stable-doors, and seize the troopers in their beds."* At a place twelve or fourteen miles from Bridgwater, where there had been risings of club-men and meetings, people were told, as they came out of church after the evening service, to hasten to the Duke's assistance, for he had the King's army in a pinfold under Weston; and that if they did not make haste they would certainly slip away from them.†

If Monmouth in retiring upon Bridgwater never thought for a moment of remaining to fortify that town, no more did Lord Feversham expect to have to conduct a siege. He was assured that the Duke of Monmouth was seeking how to give him the slip, and to get before him to Keynsham bridge, and into Shropshire and Cheshire.‡ Both camps had their respective traitors; each general soon knew of the proceedings of the other: this was particularly the case this day.

About seven in the evening the drums beat for a rendezvous in the Castle-field east of the town. Some of the officers went to prayers in red coats and jack-boots—a sight that had not been seen since the restoration.*

It has been shown that King James II. had clear information afforded him of the coming insurrection by Captain W. Speke, to which he paid no attention, or he might have taken Monmouth and all his followers at sea. The numbers who were ever discovering plots are an excuse for that monarch. In like manner, Lord

* Oldmixon. † Paschall.

‡ King James's account of the battle of Sedgmoor.

Feversham might have learnt and prepared against this night attack. Bishop Kennet records (upon the authority of an officer who saw the party in fright and disorder after the occurrence) that a young maid of Bridgwater, who was a well-wisher of the royal cause, learnt what was about to be attempted. She slid out of the town, and posted to Weston with the information. Lord Feversham, instead of hearing what she had to communicate, offered her violence, and in her rage she concealed what she came to divulge.* The Rev. A. Paschall states that informations were brought to the camp that the Duke would come forth that night to visit them, and was actually preparing to do so, yet the guards and sentinels, the country people affirm, were all gone from their several posts before bed-time.

Captain Mackintosh, of Dunbarton's regiment, believing that they should be attacked, marked out the ground between the tents and the ditch where his men should stand in case of an attack, and gave directions that all should be in readiness.†

Most of the King's other officers were drunk, and utterly void of apprehension of the enemy.* Monmouth's men, so soon as it was determined to attack the King's army, were plentifully supplied with the plundered liquors, and many were half drunk.† About a thousand women came into Bridgwater to take leave of their husbands and relatives: they were thought not to have added, however zealous in the cause, to their courage.‡

* Hist. of England, quoted by Ralph.

† Kennet's Hist. of England, communicated by the same officer, quoted by Ralph.

‡ Rev. A. Paschall.

The Duke of Monmouth's Forces.

Foot. These at one time consisted of		*Names of the Colonels, not in order according to the colours.*
The Blue Regiment	600	The Duke—Lt. Col. Wade.
White ...	400	Matthews.
Red ...	800	Holmes.
Green ...	600	Foulkes.
Yellow ...	500	Basset.
Independent Company that came from Lyme	80	
Amount of Foot	2980	

Horse.

Horse commanded by Lord Grey, 600.
Total of the Duke's army 3580.

Artillery.

Four field-pieces.*

This estimate of the Duke's force was made some time before the battle. Wade states that they never amounted to 4000 men. After the desertions that took place at Frome, and the deduction for the horse sent to Minehead for cannon, the true numbers are

Foot	2600
Horse	600
Total	3200

William Williams, the Duke's servant, in his examination before the Committee, stated that the rebels were 6000 in number about the time of the fight. † The Reverend Mr. Axe says, not above 4000 marched out to Sedgemoor to fight. James II. rated Lord Feversham's foot at 2000, horse 500, and Monmouth's army at 6000 men.

* Mazure has *three* field-pieces. Ferguson was ordered by Monmouth to get four more field-carriages made. —*Lord Grey's Account of the Rye-House Plot.*

† Lansdown MS., 1152.

KING JAMES II.'s ARMY AT SEDGEMOOR, AS THEY STOOD. THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM COMMANDING.*

Foot.

In six battalions.

First battalion on the right.	
Dunbarton's, of which one company were grenadiers.	Commanded by Lieut. Col. Douglas.
Next two battalions, six companies in each, of 1st regt. of guards, besides one company of grenadiers of the 1st regiment.	Colonel the Duke of Grafton, 1st battalion. Major Eaton, 2d battalion.
Next a battalion of 2d regt. of Coldstream Guards, of six companies, besides one of grenadiers	Lieut. Colonel Sackville.
Then five companies of Trelawney's regt., one of which were grenadiers.	Lieut. Col. Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.
On the left of all another small battalion.	Colonel Kirke.

Total about 1800. †

Horse.

150 commanded out of the three troops of horse guards. 60 grenadiers on horseback.	Sir —— Villiers.
Seven troops of the King's regiment of horse.	Sir Francis Compton.
Three troops of dragoons (Capt. Coy's troop being at Langport).	Lord Cornbury.

Total 700.

Artillery.

Sixteen field-pieces.	Mr. Sheers, ‡ assisted by Bishop Mews.

Total of horse and foot, 2500 men.

Ralph rates the King's forces at 2700, which is perhaps correct, if we include the artillerymen; while he raises the Duke of Monmouth's army to 5000 or 6000 men.

* James II.'s account of the battle of Sedgemoor.

† See origin and services of the Coldstream Guards, by Col. M'Kinnon, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1833. There must be an error in the figures 2800 instead of 1800 foot. Col. M'Kinnon quotes Harleian MS., No. 6845.

‡ Mr. Sheers translated Polybius, and wrote several scientific works. Henry Sheers, Esq. was knighted July 20. for his services in the West as Comptroller-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery. — *London Gazette.*

Colonel Matthews took an opportunity to advise the Duke to divide the cavalry, that the "charge and conduct" of one part might devolve upon some person of courage equal to the critical nature of the duty and time. But the Duke, by a strange fatality, declined following his advice, saying "that he would not affront my Lord Grey, and that what he had given him in charge was easy to be effected." Such is Ferguson's account.*

About eleven o'clock on the night of Sunday, July 5., the Duke of Monmouth marched at the head of his forces down the Eastern Causeway, a narrow lane, the road to Bristol, towards Polden Hill, in silence: —

"Nor martial shout, nor minstrel tone
Announced their march; their tread alone
* * * *
At times a stifled hum."

Marmion.

Entering Bradney-lane, which is known to this day as War-lane, the forces turned off into Marsh-lane, thence into Bradney-green, round by Peasy Farm into North-moor, keeping Chedzoy on their right on their way to Weston. The Duke appears to have studiously avoided Chedzoy village, where, indeed, there was a guard stationed: to effect this object, he entered Bradney and Marsh lanes, which were long and incommodious. By their narrowness and length the army was encumbered and retarded.†

Monday, July 6.—Midnight had passed, and Monday had commenced, when the Duke was still marching towards Weston and the Earl of Feversham's camp, having performed a circuit.

* Echard's Hist. of England. † Rev. A. Paschall.

Upon reaching Peasy Farm, upon a projecting point adjoining Polden Hill, on the road to Axbridge, Keynsham, &c., the Duke ordered the forty-two baggage-waggons that left Bridgwater with the army to remain in the road with a small guard, while the forces turned into the North-moor, and westward towards Weston.*

The distance to be traversed from Bridgwater cannot be less than six miles by this route, which was undertaken rather than the direct one to Weston, in order to avoid the King's artillery, which was placed so as to command the highway.

The leader in the darkness was the identical Godfrey the spy. Those who have dilated upon his part, and that of Newton the guide, must be informed that Godfrey and Newman (erroneously written Newton) are one and the same man, a native of Chedzoy, where he carried on for years after this time a small farm. The illegitimate child of two parents, Godfrey and Newman, he was addressed indifferently by either name. This explanation will further show how little Oldmixon can be depended upon, even when detailing matters that pertain to his own immediate neighbourhood.†

A guide was needed in the lanes, but was indispen-

* Oldmixon.

† Communication of W. Stradling, Esq. — Much information is derived from an account of the battle of Sedgemoor, published in the Hardwicke State Papers, written by James II. The MS., in the King's own hand, exists in the Harleian MS., 6845, in the British Museum. The monarch well describes the locality; and his account of the early arrangements of patroles, &c. is the only one existing. The information was necessarily that furnished him by his own officers. Where, let it be asked, is there any thing serving to impugn the correctness of the statements? James II. afterwards felt assured that Feversham had not been cautious; and so far the royal author corrects his own production. Upon the whole, the narrative written by the King is a valuable addition to our information.

sable after the forces reached the open moor. Indeed, any person desirous of traversing the moor by daylight, at the present time, would be glad of direction, to make a way to the cradle-bridges across the great drain or cut. The confusion of Godfrey the guide and its consequences will have to be described. The matter requires some explanation. There is no charge of treachery against this man. Oldmixon states that he was confused; as well he might, when leading an army on such an occasion in the dark, and so went above the ford in the rhine, or great ditch or drain, which ford is also called in these parts a plungeon or steaning. Ralph writes, that when Lord Grey came near the Royalist's fires he dismissed Newton.

How many, when reading of the battle, have believed that Newman the guide missed the right spot, where the Duke might have crossed the rhine, and cut the King's army to pieces; and that in the confusion the Monmouth men could not find a passage, and so the battle was lost. This is a very erroneous view.

After leaving the North-moor, a great drain, called Black-ditch, had to be crossed, not far from Parchy; Newman led correctly to a ford or steaning. Soon after the forces were led too far to the left, and so missed a steaning over Langmoor rhine.* This rhine had in consequence to be crossed with, probably, inconvenience, confusion, and delay. The King's camp was still distant, and the rhine that served for its defence. There we shall find Godfrey's services were not required, — the time and place were not such as allowed a diligent searching for the ford; and if found, it could not have been used for the passing of the Monmouth army. The

* Communicated by W. Stradling, Esq.

inconvenience experienced by the error Godfrey committed must have been at Langmoor rhine. The confusion and delay at such a moment — the having to cross where the water was inconveniently deep and the bottom deep mud, — the rumour running through the ranks that they had lost or missed their way, would account for the importance that has been attached to Newman's error. The great cause, however, of many accounts that were current for so long a time among the people — accounts of the most erroneous character — is to be traced to the particular circumstances of the case, — the dispersion and concealment of the combatants so soon after, without any means of corresponding, and correcting, by intercourse with each other, the impressions and rumours current at the moment. The missing the ford in the rhine, and the real cause which alarmed the King's camp, are points that will, I trust, be now completely cleared up.

When and where did the Duke of Monmouth first learn what a formidable rhine lay between him and the King's camp? Was Godfrey a guide hired to lead the army to the ford in the rhine close to the King's camp? or was he taken to conduct the army over the several rhines of that level tract?

King James asserts that Monmouth knew nothing of the rhine by the camp till he came up to it; but considered the camp was quite unprotected, and consequently the whole quarters of the King's army.

When Monmouth first learned of the existence of the ditch I know not. He must, it is to be supposed, have been informed upon the march that there was some great drain near Weston, like the others that were crossed on their route; but remained ignorant of the extent of the obstacle.

The King, who was a soldier, describes the post near Weston, occupied by Lord Feversham, as a very well-chosen one for such a small body of men, and very secure, the foot being encamped with their rear to the village, and had their front covered by the rhine or ditch, which serves for a drain to the moor. Though dry weather at the time, it had recently been raining. This rhine or drain was not to be passed by horse but in one or two places.*

Leaving the Monmouth army on their march, let us consider what was doing in the King's camp.

Lord Feversham, being informed that the Duke's army had passed over the bridge at Bridgwater, and were drawn up in a meadow, the Castle-field, close by the river, judged their design was to see if they could give him the slip and get to Keynsham bridge before him. As his horse and dragoons had been much harrassed by their incessant marching, he thought best not to draw them out of their quarters, but to let them remain there to refresh themselves for the pursuit the next day, in case the Duke should march northwards; but he left a guard of one hundred horse, commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and fifty dragoons, upon the moor, the way the Duke's men came, which had advanced guards and sentries before them, to give notice if any thing came that way. Lord Feversham placed another guard on the highway from Bridgwater, and fifty foot in a sheep-fold on the moor, to assist in securing a retreat if they should be pushed. Major Oglethorpe† was sent with a party of horse to cross both the roads towards Bristol and Keynsham, in order to

* James II.'s account of the battle of Sedgemoor.

† An officer of this name was at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. This officer became Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe.

ascertain if the Duke marched that way. Feversham was out till nearly one in the morning at the guard of horse on the moor towards Chedzoy, expecting the return of his party, and to hear the noise of the enemy's march, in case they did march, it being a very still night. At that hour he returned to his quarters.

In the meantime the Duke's forces were marching. Though Oglethorpe crossed both the roads, as he had been ordered, beyond the moor, he fell not in their way, as they did not march on so far as to come up with the Major, or be within his hearing. Returning again to the moor, he went through Chedzoy, and crossed to the road leading from Bridgwater to Weston, at the distance of half a mile from Bridgwater. Four of his horsemen went so far as a barricade near the bridge, pretending, when challenged, to be Monmouth's men. Upon inquiry, they were told that Monmouth had marched with all his men, leaving only a guard behind. Major Oglethorpe hastened to the camp with the news, but the battle had begun before he arrived.*

Let us now return to the Monmouth army on their march. The Duke had two defiles to pass after he was in the moor; the one immediately after coming on it, and the other about a mile from the King's camp at Weston. His Majesty writes that the Duke drew up in two columns after he had passed the first defile, the foot on the right and the horse on the left, and so marched till he came to the second.

Upon arriving at the second defile, distant one mile from the King's camp, Monmouth's army halted for the horse, consisting of eight squadrons, to advance. The

* James II.'s account of the battle of Sedgemoor.

four* iron guns followed the horse, at the head of the foot, consisting of five great battalions, each having one company of at least one hundred scythemen (Paschall says two hundred), who did the duty of grenadiers.

Arrived within one mile of the King's camp, Monmouth's army had not been seen or heard! When passing the last defile, James II. says the advanced sentries of the horse-guards discovered the Duke's men, and galloped back to inform Sir Francis Compton of the King's regiment of horse, who immediately gave the alarm to the camp. This officer staid at his post till he received a faint charge from an advanced party of some of the Duke's horse, who, after having fired their carbines, went off on their side, and he drew back to the camp on the right hand of the king's foot behind the ditch. The followers of Monmouth believed that victory would have been on their side had not an alarm taken place. They attributed the alarm to the firing of a pistol with treacherous design by Captain Hucker, near Langmoor stone, who resented his not having been left governor of Taunton by Monmouth, who was his guest in that town. This officer, it will be shown, instead of running away in so traitorous a manner, discharged his duties throughout the battle, and was with his troop in the final rout. There was a trooper, unknown, who rode from the direction of the Duke's forces, and so was taken to have been a traitor, at full speed, and called at least twenty times to Dunbarton's, the Scotch regiment, to beat up their drums, as the enemy was come.† I have no doubt but that this was one of the sentries of the horse-guards mentioned by

* James II. says three guns.

† Rev. A. Paschall.

the King as having given the alarm. Lord Feversham was in bed at Weston.*

Monmouth, hearing that the King's camp was alarmed, ordered Lord Grey to march fast with the horse to fall in amongst the tents of the foot and take them in flank, not knowing any thing (these are King James's words) of the great ditch which protected them; and told him he would march after with his foot as fast as he could.†

The King's horse were getting ready when Lord Grey marched on, to execute the orders given to him, towards the upper plungeon. He missed this passage over the ditch, and led his men by the outside of the ditch till they were opposite the Scotch regiment. Being challenged by Douglas, some one answered "*Albemarle*" — at least he understood so, and let 500 pass the ditch without firing upon them. Then coming to the first battalion of the guards, Captain Berkeley, who commanded the right wing of the musketeers of that battalion, asked, *Who they were for?* They answered, *The King.* He called to them, *What King?* They answered, *Monmouth,* and *God with us,* which was their word.‡ He then said, *Take this with you;* and made his wing fire at them. So did the other wing of that battalion, as also the next battalion of the same regiment, and half that of the two regiments of

* Oldmixon says he made not so much haste as to forget to set his cravat-string at a little paltry looking-glass in one of the cottages.

† James II.'s account. Lord Grey was to fire Weston. — *Kennet.*

‡ Pennant, in his account of London, p. 117., says *soho* was the watch-word. The Duke, he says, resided in the centre house of Monmouth Square, facing the statue. The admirers of the unfortunate Duke changed the name to *Soho* Square. Lord Bateman purchased the house, which has long been pulled down. The name is retained in Monmouth Street.

guards. Upon which the Duke's horse ran away, leaving some of their men and horses on the ground.

The battle began between one and two o'clock. Sir Francis Compton was stationed with a guard of horse at the upper plungeon, which Lord Grey missed. An officer named Jones, with 300 men, was ordered to dislodge him, and showed great valour. Though Sir Francis was hard beset and wounded, he kept his post, and Jones's body of horse went off, not having crossed the ditch, towards Sutton mill, near which they took up their position to see the issue of the fight.* King James did not know whether it was Lord Grey's or Jones's body of horse that were sometime after charged by a party of his horse. Jones is said to have received a pardon from the general for his valour.

The Rev. A. Paschall, whose information is always entitled to the greatest respect, states, that notwithstanding the alarm given to the King's army, had this party of horse crossed over the ditch all might have been lost. Wade says the horse never crossed the great ditch; but he only saw the party commanded by Jones, whose progress was successfully resisted by Sir F. Compton. Wade says, that when the firing took place some of the King's foot ran out of the field.

The attack made by Monmouth's army upon the King's forces was not simultaneous. The cavalry attack, led by Lord Grey, and an officer named Jones, had entirely failed; and this part of the forces had withdrawn before the Duke came up, in person, with the infantry. The cavalry and infantry did not act together; they succeeded each other on the field. Some remarks will be offered upon the charges made against

* Rev. A. Paschall.

the cavalry of Monmouth's army, to whose alleged flight and cowardice the entire failure has been generally attributed.

When Lord Grey's party of horse wheeled off, after having been fired upon by several regiments of the king's army, they encountered some of their own men, with whom, in the dark, they had a skirmish, and went back by Langmoor Stone. Their discomfiture produced bad effects upon the foot in front, and kept numbers in the rear from coming up, and even caused many to run away.* Let the reader suspend his judgment upon the conduct of Monmouth's horse.

The Duke's foot were eight minutes after the horse. The Duke saw the horse run, and thereupon caused the foot to march so exceedingly quick that they were all in confusion. They marched battalion after battalion, guiding themselves by the matches of Douglas or Dunbarton's regiment, the only one of the King's that had matchlocks.† All the others had the snaphaunce, or flint-lock musket.

Lord Feversham, who had been getting his horse in order in Weston village, and had sent for the cannon, came to his foot, and ordered them to reserve their fire till the enemy came close up to them. The militia quartered at Middlezoy and Othery took no part in the battle.

The Duke's infantry were first ordered to run over the ditch. It must be again repeated that I knew not when the Duke first learned any thing about it. This was upon a presumption, it is thought, that the horse had gone over the plungeon into Weston, and so thrown confusion into the rear of the King's army.

* Rev. A. Paschall. † King James's account.

Wade is said to have told his men that the King's army was running. They would have shouted, though silence was commanded, had not he restrained them. When they arrived at the ditch things were found to be otherwise than they had hoped for, and they were commanded, upon pain of death, not to go over.*

The Duke's infantry did not begin to form till within eighty paces of the ditch, intending so soon as their own line was drawn up to have attacked the King's foot. They were not to fire till within the enemy's lines. According to Colonel Wade, before the three first battalions were quite in a line, his, the Duke's, being the right-hand one. Matthews's, which was the next to him, without order from their colonel, began to fire; then Wade's and Holmes's regiment, which was on Matthews's left, did the like. After this, these officers could never make their men advance one foot, but they stood firing as they were. They judged their right was opposite to the King's left, in which they erred, for their right reached no further than the first battalion of the guards.

The Duke's guns were brought as near as they could be to the King's forces, in advance of the interval between Matthews's and Holmes's regiments. They were well plied, and did great execution on Douglas's Scotch regiment, and the first battalion of guards. These two regiments bore all the brunt of the fire, and lost many officers and soldiers, and most of them by the cannon. Though the Duke's men fired hard, owing to being young soldiers, they shot too high, and they continued firing at least three quarters of an hour. Except the Scotch regiment, which fired a little, the others never fired a shot, but bore the Duke's fire, both

* Rev. A. Paschall.

of great and small shot, with great order and steadiness.*

The firing across the ditch in this manner might have continued for some time longer; but the King's artillery † arrived, having been accelerated by Bishop Mews, who took out his carriage-horses to help drag them from their position upon the road to Bridgwater. The Bishop of Winchester's life had been, for many years, a military one; and Oldmixon says, he was fitter for a bombardier than a bishop. He had not lost his judgment in discovering critical periods in a battle; his services with the guns were signal.

We may expect to find that the cavalry, who retired from the contest, would create alarm in Monmouth's rear. Accounts vary as to the extent of the confusion and effects thus produced. The Rev. A. Paschall says two thousand did not come to the fight, among whom were a thousand scythe-men, who stood between Langmoor stone ‡ and the Duke's army, then engaged. Many had not time to march through the lanes before the battle had begun: seeing the horse retreat, they ran with them. Some of the horse came to the end of the moor, where the forty-two baggage-waggons had been left in the road. The drivers were alarmed at the arrival of the fugitives; and were told that the Duke's army had been routed. Upon this they fled with the

* King James II.'s account. † Paschall says three pieces.

‡ A large marble boulder, better known as the Devil's upping-stock. The superstitious had long believed it could not be removed, as their ploughs had often been injured, and their tackle broken, in the attempt. The spell was broken some time since by Mr. Hutchins of Bridgwater, who purchased it, and cut it up for chimney-pieces, &c., one of which is curious, and is in the possession of Robert Anstice, Esq., of that town, who is well known in the scientific world. — *Chilton Priory.*

ammunition, and did not stop till they arrived at Ware and Axbridge, twelve miles off; where they, or the country people, plundered the carriages. This explains why the Duke's men, as they were mowed down by the King's artillery, though, for a time, they stood their ground, cried out "Ammunition, ammunition,—for the Lord's sake, ammunition." The firing, at last, was principally between the artillery of the two armies.

Lord Feversham at last ordered Villiers, with all the horse-guards and grenadiers on horseback, except the party which had been out with Oglethorpe, Captain Adderley's troop, and one troop of dragoons, to pass over the great ditch which separated the two armies, to the left of the foot, and to draw up on Monmouth's right, but not to charge.

Some of the King's horse, intending to go to the camp, missed their way, and rode into Weston town, and out into the moor, by the road leading to Bridgwater, without having any ditch to cross.

The greater part were joined by Major Oglethorpe, who had just returned from reconnoitring Bridgwater. The dragoons were drawn up to the right of the foot; the horse on their right. Major Oglethorpe first passed the great ditch; the others followed. He met with a body of Monmouth's horse, but could not tell their number, owing to the darkness of the night, and their running so soon. Instead of pursuing them, the King's horse was ordered to halt. After standing some time fronting that way, Lord Feversham ordered them to wheel to the left, and to keep their ground, not knowing what had become of all Monmouth's horse. His Lordship did not judge it proper to let them charge Monmouth's foot, with the exception of Major Oglethorpe,

who tried one of the battalions, but was beaten back, though his men were mingled amongst them. The Major had several of his men wounded, and knocked off their horses, amongst whom was Captain Sarsfield, left dead upon the place.*

William Williams, the Duke's servant, perceived the King's horse on their flanks, going, as he believed, to encompass them, and pointed them out to his master. This was between two and three o'clock, A.M. The Duke put off his armour, of which the corslet and gauntlets are now in the Porter's Lodge at Warwick Castle, and took 100 guineas from his servant of the 200 guineas, the whole sum that remained.† Lord Grey came to the Duke when he was disarming‡,—another fact that exculpates this unpopular character from the odium of having called the Duke away from his duties to propose a speedy flight. Lord Grey had returned to the Duke, then in battle, and consequently danger, from his fugitive horse, with whom he was in safety. His presence could do no good. The Duke left his men fighting upon a rooted distrust of their sufficiency against the King's troops, whom he very well knew; and being asked to return to the foot, then fighting, to encourage them, he said "All the world cannot stop those fellows; they will run presently."§ The Duke's flight will have to be described. As he ascended Polden Hill, which overlooks the moor, he looked round and saw his foot still firing.

Burnet has recorded his opinion that Monmouth left the field too soon for a man of courage. Sir John

* King James's account. † James II.'s account.
‡ Exam. of William Williams. Lansdown MS., 1152.
§ Rev. A. Paschall.

Reresby, and other authorities, do not give, like the bishop, so unfavourable an account of the circumstances, but consider him to have conducted himself with the discretion of a good general. James II. said, in the hearing of Sir John Reresby, that Monmouth had not made one false step.

Ferguson, whose want of truth renders an apology for quoting him necessary, asserts, that he struck at several troopers who had forsaken their station, and upbraided several captains with being wanting in their duty. His warmth of language to Lord Grey, who, as the leader of the horse, was necessarily unpopular, failed to produce the desired effect, for he rode with the utmost speed to the Duke, telling him "all was lost, and that it was now more than time to shift for himself."* The falsehood of this has been shown. Another account states, that Monmouth gave directions to four men to put him to death in case he was near being taken, and that all these were killed in the battle.† Oldmixon joins in the outcry against Lord Grey, yet owns he returned from the pursuit of the fugitives. Who, of the old Monmouth men, their children, or grandchildren, ever brought any charge of cowardice against the Duke?

Lord Churchill went to the left of the King's foot, which had no part of Monmouth's force opposite them, and ordered the two Tangier battalions there to march behind the other battalion, and to draw up on Douglas's right.

Just as they arrived there the day began to break, which enabled Lord Feversham to see how the battle was going on from his position with the horse on the

* Echard's Hist. of England. † A tract published at Milan.

right,—the Monmouth side of the great ditch which he had before crossed. None of Monmouth's horse were to be seen; the pikes of one of the Duke's battalions began to shake, and at last open. The King's general now ordered the foot to cross the ditch and charge Monmouth's men, which was immediately obeyed. The Duke's force saw the advance of the King's infantry to the charge, and ran before they came to close combat. The five companies of grenadiers were ordered to follow in pursuit. Some of the horse and dragoons charged the fugitives, and did execution on them, till they got out of the moor into the enclosures, which they soon did, the moor being but 800 yards* broad in that place from ditch to ditch. The greatest slaughter was in the ditch, which was deep and boggy, and in a corn-field on the other side of it. There 1200 were taken, and had quarter allowed them. Twenty-two standards fell into the hands of the victors.† Three hundred of Monmouth's men lay on the moor, where they fought; 1000 more were killed in the pursuit.‡ The *London Gazette* raises the Duke's loss to 2000. The King's forces lost 400.‡ The discrepancy that exists as to the numbers of Monmouth's men that were slain may be accounted for by supposing that the one account takes in those only who were killed in battle, and the other the wretched fugitives who were massacred in ditches, corn-fields, and other hiding-places, the following day.§ James II. left blank spaces in his MS. account of the battle‖, to be filled up by Mr. Blathwaite, one of the secretaries, which was never done. On Monmouth's side Basset's

* Mr. Stradling says the breadth is nearly twice this.

† James II.'s account. ‡ Ralph.

§ Note to Savage's edition of Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton, 479.

‖ Harleian MS., 6845.

battalion suffered the most, who were all from Taunton: they were for the most part killed or taken. The rest, though they suffered not so much, were totally dispersed, after a battle that continued nearly one hour and a half. Their descendants speak of their wonderful escape from cavalry by extraordinary leaps over rhines, and from infantry by concealment. The 6th of July was a day of bitterness to the west of England. Had man the power of peering into futurity only for a few years, could the victors have hewn down the men who fought against them this day? How soon after did these very men use the arms they wore this day against the monarch, and glory in the principles which led the Monmouth men to rebellion, and the horrors of unsuccessful resistance to established authority.

A friendly hand wrote thus in feeling language of the vanquished followers of the Duke of Monmouth: —

"Thus these mighty men, that had potency with God, and jeopardised their lives in the high places of the field for the cause of Christ, fell in the midst of battle.*

The Earl of Feversham did not venture to pursue — perhaps was unable to do so from the fatigue of his men — for some hours.†

* Axminster church-book.

† Ralph.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A. D. 1685.

Particulars respecting the battle of Sedgemoor. — Oldmixon's statements. — Conduct of cavalry treated of. — Time required to train cavalry. — Hume's account. — Anecdote of Colonel Holmes and Lord Churchill. — Arrival of flying troops and wounded Monmouth men in Bridgwater. — Regret of the followers at the non-arrival of Mr. Vaughan. — Memoir of Feversham. — The Duke of Buckingham's ridicule of him. — Register of Weston Zoyland. — Execution of Captain Adlam and others upon the moor by Feversham's order. — Farmers send cider to the victors. — Legend of the Sword. — Allowances granted to the officers and men for wounds. — The grave. — Letters about burial of the slain. — Duel. — Civil authorities grow bold after the victory.

MUCH has been written respecting the "great battle or fight" as distinguished from "Philips Norton fight," and in many cases statements have been made, utterly irreconcilcable with the locality and the time. Oldmixon, the historian, a resident of Bridgwater, might, at first view, be readily allowed to claim the highest authority, for he not only saw the Duke march out of the Castle-field, but visited the field to view the slain. The historian was, however, young at the time, and yet "did not like the Duke's countenance;" as if so inexperienced a physiognomist could have made any valuable observation. His conductor to Sedgemoor was a papist soldier, whom he commends for his care of him. Every one after the defeat expected military execution, "except those of the Papist or Tory faction." Oldmixon's account of Captain Hucker's treachery to his men, and firing a pistol to alarm the King's army — the crossing the rhine or ditch by Monmouth's men — the taking two

of the King's cannon, and turning them upon Dunbarton's Scotch regiment and other battalions, and throwing these into disorder, are incredible statements, opposed by the clearest evidence, so that not even the slightest credit is due to any one of them. What shall be said of the same writer's account of the confusion in the King's camp upon the arrival of Monmouth's army? Oldmixon states that those soldiers who were nearest Weston ran into the town (village); those in Weston ran to Middlezoy, and through that place above a mile from the moor. That in the confusion of beating to arms and getting into line in the dark there were cowards and fugitives, is not improbable; but beyond the flight of stragglers, and some of the King's foot, when the firing began, who left the field, all behaved well. The Duke of Monmouth's horse advanced in silence, and crossed the ditch as friends arrived from the Duke of Albemarle: the foot would have shouted, but Colonel Wade restrained them. The terrors produced by shoutings of "St. George and Old England," "King Monmouth and our Protestant Church," by the Duke's men, are to be classed with the numerous fictions of the time. Such were the rumours Oldmixon remembered to have heard. Upon one point he very probably gives a satisfactory explanation, and that by no means an unimportant one, — the conduct of the cavalry led by Lord Grey, whose cowardice has been assigned as the cause of failure. He says, Lord Grey could not get his horse into a right posture for fighting; most of them would hardly stand fire, and these disordered the rest.

The cavalry had been embodied, none more than three weeks, some only a few days, — a space of time quite inadequate to allow any thing more than the first lessons of military instruction. The rider might have been

brave, zealous, and ready to learn; but his horse had to be trained in order to render his services efficient. The deficiency of an imperfectly-trained trooper must appear more striking than that of a foot-soldier. We have seen how contemptible was the opinion formed of the horse by Monmouth's other forces, even at the little affair of cavalry at Keynsham. A night-battle, in which great guns added to the noise and flashes of the discharge of musketry, was too great a trial for "ragged horse." Two years are required to make a good cavalry horse, and one year to form the soldier. This is the time assigned when both are incorporated with a disciplined regiment, and not with a mass of raw soldiers. A standard of excellence, however, is aimed at, quite unknown in 1685, even in Louis XIV.'s army.*

The cavalry force under the command of Lord Grey was quite unable to contend with the cuirassiers of Lord Feversham. It must not be forgotten that the *horse* wore cuirasses.† Monmouth's cuirasses (breasts and backs) were seized upon his leaving Lyme. From what has been narrated of Lord Grey, no charge of utter cowardice can be adduced. His execution of the orders given him was not perfect, from the accident of missing the plungeon over the ditch. The crossing close by Dunbarton's regiment, to repair the former error, is inconsistent with cowardice. Very probably the confusion among his untrained horse, when the firing began, was irremediable at the hands of any cavalry officer. The Rev. A. Paschall introduces no charge of cowardice. That divine gives with caution a report that success was not quite out of the case: — "It is said that victory

* Communication of a distinguished officer.

† Historical Records of the British army — Second Dragoon Guards, or Queen's Bays.

seemed inclined to the rebels, and that the King's army was almost in despair." The words of King James are these: "Had the horse done their part, it might have rendered the success more doubtful." Echard says, that "had the horse only stood in a position to give alarm to the enemy, without doing anything, the foot would have won the battle." Lord Grey's cavalry was to have set fire to Weston, in the rear of the King's forces. Had the Duke been able to have crossed the great ditch the King's troops would have been destroyed before they could have formed: their knowledge of discipline would have been of little or no use to them; all would have been irregulars alike. As the Duke had the advantage of numbers against those who were in the camp just over the ditch before him, and his men were formed, it is reasonable to think he would have carried all before him at the first charge. When the King's foot had been broken, the horse could not have wrested the victory out of his hands.* These remarks appear just. We may ask, why did not the Duke of Monmouth act according to the above views, without waiting so long for any signal of the firing of Weston village by Lord Grey? Simply because the battalions of infantry became unmanageable. Matthews's, the Duke's own, Colonel Wade, and Holmes's, began the action without orders, and could not be made to advance one foot. Thus all the advantages of a surprise of the King's army, the credit of which must be conceded to the Duke of Monmouth, were lost.

The attack, Fox considers to have been judiciously conceived, and in many parts spiritedly executed; but it

* Account furnished Kennet by an officer. This officer commits the egregious error of describing the Duke's men fighting on the same side of the ditch as the King's troops.

failed. Hume has the rashness to assert, that the army would, after all, have gained the victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Lord Grey prevented it. This rash judgment is the more to be admired, as the historian has not pointed out the instance of misconduct to which he refers.

The following anecdote is given by King James II.:

"Holmes's battalion firing at Lord Cornbury's troop of dragoons, his Lieutenant, Warde, who was standing by him, called out to that battalion not to fire any more at them, for that they were friends. They thinking it to be true, did not only that, but Holmes himself, taking them for friends, came up on horseback from the head of his battalion to the very ditch behind which they stood. The same lieutenant calling to him, '*Who are* you for?' and being answered, '*For who but Monmouth,*' the lieutenant and one of the serjeants fired at him, killed his horse under him, and broke his arm, and there he lay. Soon after which Lord Churchill passed over the ditch there, when that wing passed, seeing him hold up his head as he lay, asked him, '*Who art thou?*' He answered he was not in a condition to tell, and lay still; but afterwards got up, and was taken by some straggling men among the tents of the foot."

Colonel Holmes was sent, together with Major Perrot, the associate of Colonel Blood, and Captain Marder, the constable of Crewkerne, to the Gate-house prison, Westminster.

Wade, with two or three hundred men of his battalion, the Duke's own, got in a body into Bridgwater, where he found three of the troops of horse, that had run away in the night, drawn up in good order in the market-place, commanded by Captain Alexander, Captain Hucker (who was said to have fired his pistol and

run to take his pardon), and Captain Tucker. At first they would not own to the Bridgwater people that they had been beaten; but, after a consultation, they dispersed, each man shifting for himself. About four o'clock some of the fugitives began to enter Bridgwater, some of them so wounded that it appeared surprising how they could reach so far. When Lord Feversham marched towards Bridgwater, having sent a trumpeter before to summon the town, he found all Monmouth's men, the fugitives from the battle, gone.* Wade, Ferguson, and twenty officers more, went to meet Hewling's horse, returning from Minehead, some twenty miles off, whither they had been sent for cannon. Fifty seized a vessel at Ilfracombe, victualled her, and put to sea, but were forced ashore by two frigates. They then dispersed; and Wade was eventually taken in Brendin parish, in the county of Devon.†

The dispersed and wretched followers of the Duke used to speak of a reinforcement of a thousand men, that was to have joined the day after the battle, led by Mr. Vaughan of Criston.‡ This was one of the idle rumours that were in circulation. I have discovered, and will introduce, some particulars of this gentleman. Others were persuaded that Colonel Danvers and Sir Robert Peyton were upon the point of creating an insurrection in Essex.‡

The character of every commander-in-chief who fights a great battle or leads an expedition, is intimately connected with the history of the transaction. The competency or not of the Earl of Feversham is a question upon which different opinions have been enter-

* King James's account of the battle. † Wade.
‡ Kennet.

tained, so that some mention of that individual is appropriate to this part of the subject.

Lewis Duras, a native of France, where he was Marquis de Blanquefort, was nephew to the illustrious Marshal de Turenne. He was naturalised here in 1665, created Baron Duras of Holdenby in 1672, and Earl of Feversham in 1676. He asked Lady Henrietta Wentworth in marriage. In one of the famous resolutions of the House of Commons, Jan. 7. 1680, it was resolved "to present an address to His Majesty to remove Lewis Earl of Feversham from all military offices and commands, as a promoter of popery, and of the popish interest." Still he was a Protestant, and was never, like his two brothers, converted. He was Lord Chamberlain to the Queen of Charles II., and even after her retirement to Portugal continued to have the chief management of her affairs, so that he was sometimes designated the "King Dowager." He was supple and insinuating, so that he retained the court favour even in the two following reigns. Burnet judged that the King could not have chosen worse than he did when he gave the command to the Earl of Feversham. He was an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted, the bishop adds, matters so ill that every step he made was likely to prove fatal to the King's service. He had no parties abroad; he got no intelligence; and was almost surprised, &c.; so that if the Duke of Monmouth had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the King's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The King, however, satisfied, upon the first intelligence, with his general's conduct, yielded eventually to the judgment of others. "Lord Feversham," James II.'s

biographer writes, "was honoured with the garter for the late victory, though few people allowed him any great share in the merit, but rather blamed his conduct, or want of vigilance, on that occasion; yet the King thought it a proper time to make a grateful return to the Marshal de Turenne's former friendship in the person of his nephew, who chiefly owed the kindness the King had for him to that great general's recommendation."

The example of civil warfare, that was doomed to spread affliction over the West, only served to the profligate George Villiers Duke of Buckingham as matter for a satirical piece, entitled "The Battle; or, the Rehearsal at Whitehall: a farce." This piece is often quoted as "Sedgemoor: a farce." Its object is to ridicule, in a dialogue between a lord and lady, the Earl of Feversham with his broken French, and to criticise his military performances in the West.

The Earl is represented as having so ordered matters that the King's forces were nearly cut off, yet as displaying infinite satisfaction in explaining to every one "the particulars of his foolery." The lady engages the Earl to relate his campaign, which he does in this strain: "So, madama, me have intelegensa dat de rebel go to Breechwater. Me say to my mena, Marsh you rogua; so me marsha over de greata fielda, begar de brava contra, where dey killa de hare vid de dogua, and de patrich vid de hawka, begar de brave sport in de varld." The lord inquires about the post? — "O, begarra, very strong, vid de great river between me and de rebella, calla *de Brooka de Gutter.*" The lord concludes with asking the general about encamping with the horse and foot? — "Ay, vid de footta; no, vid de horsa, begar me go vid de horsa on de gentleman-officera

to one very good villash: very good meta, very good drinka, and very good bedda." The lady ventures to inquire why the Earl did not stay with the foot? — "Begarra, madama, because dere be great differentia between de gentlemen-officera and de rogua de sogiera; begarra de rogua de sogiera lye upon de grounda, but begar de gentlemen-officera go to bedda."

The register of Weston Zoyland contains the following entry, which was copied by permission of the Reverend William Marshall, A. M. It appears in a work "Chilton Priory," published at Bridgwater in 1839, for William Stradling, Esq., whose collection of antiques is deposited in a building called the Priory, upon the Polden Hill, on the east side of Sedgemoor.

An account of the fight that was in Langmore, the 6th of July, 1685, between the King's army and the Duke of Monmouth: —

"The ingagement began between one and two of the clock in the morning. It continued near one hour and a half. Their was killed upon the spot of the King's souldiers sixteen, and five of them buried in the church, the rest in the churchyard; and they had all Christian Buriall. One hundred or more of the King's souldiers wounded, of which wounds many died; of which we have no certain account. Their was killed of the rebels upon the spot aboute 300; hanged with us 22, of which 4 weare hanged in gemmaces.* About 500 prisoners brought into our church; of which there was 79 wounded, and 5 of them died of their wounds in our church.†"

One of the four prisoners alluded to was Captain

* *Chains.*

† In the register is this entry, "The Duke of Monmouth beheaded July 15. 1685.

Adlam, who was so severely wounded that he was in a dying state when taken to the gallows the next day, and the first who was hung in chains on the moor. He had 100 broad pieces quilted in his buff coat. The other eighteen who were hung, in the absence of a gallows, were suspended to the branches of a large tree at Bussex, adjoining the moor, and their bodies were buried near it by some of the cottagers.*

Weston church remains, as it was that day, a fine structure, furnishing a good example of the Somersetshire churches, with an elegant roof of richly carved oak, and long carved benches, instead of pews, of the same material. What a sight its interior must have presented this day! Among the prisoners was the horse-dealer, whose journey to the Duke at Taunton led friend Whiting to accompany the wife, sister Scott, to induce him to return home. He was not to be persuaded; but staid to the "last fight," as it is sometimes called, and was captured, and put into what Whiting calls Weston steeple-house (*i. e.* church), "in order to be hanged next day, as many were: but he got out at the little north door while the watch was asleep, and so escaped with his life; lying in corn-fields by day, and going by night till he got home," &c. †

Henry Bull, Esq. of Shapwick expected a party to dine with him the day of the battle, and had sent a servant to Bridgwater to purchase fish and other luxuries. The man could not resist the temptation of seeing what was going on at Sedgemoor. He unfortunately arrived just in time to join the fugitives, among whom he was taken, and carried before Lord Feversham, who was busily employed in the selection of a number of the un-

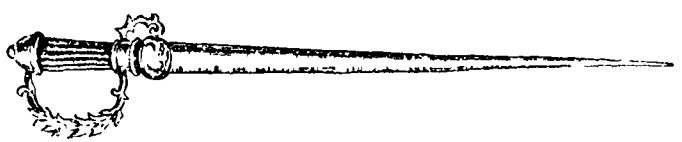
* Chilton Priory. † Persecution exposed, &c.

happy captives for immediate execution. After having heard the poor fellow's artless excuse for having been found in such unlucky company, the general exclaimed, "Go home, varlet, to thy master, for thou art not worth the hanging; tell him not again to put that garb of thine upon the shoulders of a fool."*

The farmers of the neighbouring villages, as far even as Catcott, Ashcott, Moorlinch, and Shapwick, proved close attendants upon the goddess Fortune. So soon as the merry bells of Weston and Chedzoy announced a victory, they sent hogsheads of cider, with their names on them, that their good deeds might be known of men, to the moor, for the refreshment of the victors. A hogshead was lately in existence which had been used on the occasion. Policy and fear may have induced some to be so prompt in gaining the favour of the victors. The farmers of the Zoylands had much sad experience of the evils of war, their villages having been occupied by troops at the siege of Bridgwater, during the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament.

The following narrative appears in Chilton Priory, and is headed

THE LEGEND OF THE SWORD.



Whilst Feversham was entertaining himself with the execution of the prisoners many of his officers returned

* "Chilton Priory."

to Weston, and without ceremony went into the different houses and ordered refreshment. One, an ill-bred ruffian, went into the family-house of the Bridges, which had been so recently the head-quarters of his general, who, though not a welcome guest, had received all the attentions due to a stranger, by the rules of old English hospitality. The intruder hastened through the great hall, to the parlour where the ladies were assembled, and had not recovered from the fright which the long continued sound of the great guns had occasioned. After having made use of the most ungentlemanlike expressions, the armed and cowardly miscreant proceeded to offer a gross insult to the lady of the mansion, when her daughter, Miss Mary Bridge (between eleven and twelve years of age), drew his sword and stabbed him to the heart. She was brought before Colonel Kirke, and tried by a court-martial, when the fair, young, and interesting heroine was not only honourably acquitted, but also received an order that the sword should be given to her, and that it should descend to the future Mary Bridges of the family. The relic is now in the possession of Miss Mary Bridge of Bishop's Hull, near Taunton, who bears on her seal, "Mary Bridge, 1685," surmounted by an exact representation of "the sworde."

It is said that the first time common swearing was heard in this retired village was, when, after the fight, the King's dragoons rode through the street in pursuit of fugitives, crying "D—n ye, keep fast your doors and windows, for we know not our friends from our foes."*

* "Chilton Priory."

ALLOWANCES GRANTED TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN IN SATISFACTION FOR WOUNDS RECEIVED AT SEDGEMOOR.

The Troops of Horse and Grenadier Guards.

		£.	s.	d.
36	Gentlemen - - - -	417	10	0
1	,, admitted into Chelsea Hospital -	16	0	0

Royal Regiment of Horse.

1 Trumpeter 14 Privates	- - - -	220	5	0

Two Battalions of 1st Foot Guards.

1 Lieutenant Colonel 1 Captain	- - -	100	0	0
2	Captains and Lieutenant (each) - -	30	0	0
1	Lieutenant - - - - -	40	0	0
1	Ditto - - - - - -	80	0	0
1	Ensign - - - - - -	30	0	0
1	Volunteer - - - - -	30	0	0
1	Serjeant, 3 Corporals, 2 Drummers, and 46 Privates - - -	208	5	0
12	Men admitted to Chelsea Hospital - -	16	0	0

Seven Companies of the Coldstream.

2	Serjeants, 3 Privates - - -	27	0	0
3	Men sent to Chelsea - - -	16	13	4

Royal Regiment of Foot.

1	Captain - - - - - -	40	0	0
3	Lieutenants, each - - -	20	0	0
1	Ditto - - - - - -	35	0	0
1	Ditto - - - - - -	25	0	0
1	Ditto - - - - - -	15	0	0
3	Serjeants, 2 Corporals, 1 Drummer, 57 * -	222	0	0
12	Men sent to Chelsea Hospital, each - -	6	13	4

Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot.

4	Men sent to Chelsea Hospital - -	6	13	4†

* 57 (Men?) — *Ed.*

† Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Colonel M'Kinnon.

THE GRAVE.

Not far from Bussex is the great grave, in which the unfortunate slain were buried; and, horrid to relate, many who were mortally wounded, instead of being taken to the church with their fellow-sufferers, were stripped with the dead, thrown into the trench, and held down by some of the inhuman soldiers, whilst others threw in sufficient earth to cover them.

It is supposed the grave was a circular dike, as the centre of the mound has been opened, and no remains found; but a man a few years since was employed to dig near it, when he discovered an immense number of bones in a very high state of preservation.

The following letters relating to this spot are in the possession of William Stradling, Esq.: —

"SUMRSTT,

"WHEREAS comeplainte have benn made to me by the inhabitants of the Parish of Weston Zoyland, that the Rebells lately buried in the more are not suffeciently covered, & that they have benn at great charges to builde Gallowsess & Gebbuts, & to make chains or gemmaces to hang up the rebells: These are in his Maties name to require you forthwith on sight hereof to press plowes & men, to come to the said place where the rebells are buried, that there may bee a mount errected upon them, as the inhabitants of Weston shall think fitt, and you are to beare your proportionable charges with them, in making the Gemmacess and buryinge the rebells, and this you are not to faile, as you will answer the contrarie at your utmost perlls.

"Given under my hand at Bridgwater, July the 13th, 1685.

"KIRKE.

"To the constable or Tythingman
of Chedzoy.
"Chedzoy Six plowes & twelve men."

"SOMERSETSH.

"GOODMAN* PHELIPS, you are not ignorant what order was granted by the right honble Colonel Kerke, for burying the dead rebells, making gallowes and Gibbetts and Jimmies to hang up fower prisoners, and other things for covering the Dead; for ye doing thereof there is charged on your parish of Chedzoy two pounds fower shillings and a penny, which mony you know is psently expected from your said parish. You are therefore desired to bring over the said money without delay, for the workmen doe desire and expect their wages. Wherefore you are desired not to faile to bring it on sight hereof to the tythingman of Weston Zoyland, and in soe doeing you will answer the expectation of your neighbours, and especially your frinde

"JOHN BRAGGE,
"Tythingman.

"Weston, July 15th, 85.
"To the Tythingman of Chedzoy
& Constale. These."

After the battle, a duel, attended with fatal results, ensued. This was occasioned by some words, first in jest, then in passion, between Sherrington Talbot, whom Evelyn calls a worthy gentleman, son of Sir John Talbot, who had behaved very bravely, and Captain Love, both officers of the militia, as to the comparative conduct of their respective men. Sherrington Talbot, an only son, was mortally wounded.† The Duke of Albemarle became dissatisfied, after the promotions that followed the battle, at being commanded by so many new officers, but of greater influence than his Grace, and quitted the first troop of his Majesty's guards.‡

Whiting keenly notices, that when the Duke's men were scattered and flying for their lives, several of the country gentlemen (who hardly dared appear before)

* At the above period *Goodman* was often used in the Zoylands when addressing a male, and *Goody* for the female. Gadfer, an abbreviation of grandfather and dame, have been since used.

† Evelyn's Diary.

‡ Letter of Edward Randolph, Esq. to Sir R. Southwell, Aug. 1.

came about in pursuit of them; and "Sir Edward Phillips (Judge of the Sessions) came to my friend's house at Long Sutton, and sate and slept in her chair, while his men went a hunting about the fields to take men, and several were brought to my friend's door and sent to prison; sending them to prison in droves, as if it had been to get their horses, for which some of them paid dear after King William came."

CHAPTER XXIV.

A. D. 1685.

Cruelty of the seventeenth century. — How fostered. — Narrative of brutality at Dorchester. — Great men torture Spence as volunteers. — — Cruelty of other nations paralleled at home. — A race for life after the battle of Sedgemoor.—The "White Lady." — John Swain's Leap. — How the medical attendants purposed treating Colonel Wade. — Anecdotes of early training to cruel practices.

WHO can dwell upon the events of this time without soon perceiving that men practised a degree of cruelty to their fellows which the present generation shudders at? Not only were the unfortunate made to feel the bitterness of their condition, by having to suffer to the full the miseries their conduct had entailed upon them; but those who had the wretched victims in their power invented means — little satisfied with existing punishments — of aggravating and prolonging their sufferings, and turning these, after quite a fiendish manner, into sport for their selfish gratification. This vice was fostered in the child. Spinning cockchafers, cock-squailing, and cruelties on every occasion to the brute creation, prepared the mind for revelling in scenes of blood and human agony which will scarcely appear credible.

In 1642 the Rev. Hugh Green was arrested upon the Cobb at Lyme. He was a priest to Lady Arundel of Chideock, where he had remained beyond the day fixed by the king's proclamation for all priests to depart the realm upon pain of death. The hangman behaved with great cruelty. The spectators insulted him, as he was, though not dead, emboweled and quartered before being burnt. The people of Dorchester passed the day in

sport: they played football with the head from ten till four in the afternoon, but were too superstitious to affix the head in any high place, because a pestilence had broken out after putting up the last!*

When Mr. William Spence, secretary to the Earl of Argyle in his expedition, was seized in London in 1684, he was sent to Edinburgh for torture and trial. Sir J. Lauder of Fountainhall gives atrocious details of Spence's being put in the *boots,* and having his thumbs crushed with *thumbikins*—a new invention brought from Muscovy by Generals Dalziel and Drummond. How should we be surprised at the great Captain of our age returning from a continental tour with some novelty that exhibits a refinement in the art of producing human suffering? Still greater would be our astonishment at the great Captain's volunteering to take in hand and practise upon a wretched victim. General Dalziel, by means of a hair shirt and pricking, deprived Spence of sleep for five nights, till he was "turned half distracted."

What indignation was expressed upon viewing a plate in Scot's narrative of his recent imprisonment in China, wherein he appears secured in a wooden cage? Who does not know that Edward I. confined the Countess of Buchan in a wooden cage for six whole years? The world is surely improving.

When the battle of Sedgemoor was won, a cruel act of wanton barbarity was committed upon a prisoner.† "A very fine young man, holding an ensign's commission in the Duke's army, was amongst the prisoners; and it was represented to Feversham that he could show extraordinary feats of agility: with a promise of saving his life, he submitted to be stripped, when one end of a halter was fastened round his neck, and the other round

* Chifletius. British Martyrology, 1836, p. 127.

† See "Chilton Priory," 117.

that of a wild young colt. They started at a furious rate at Bussex rhine, in Weston, and the horse fell exhausted, by the side of his ill-fated companion, at Brinsfield Bridge, in Chedzoy, a distance of three quarters of a mile, when the young man, worn down with fatigue, claimed his pardon, but the inhuman general ordered him to be hanged with the rest on the fatal Bussex tree."

The natives of the Zoylands speak of the "White Lady," who was long seen about the great grave, dressed in white, and who died, bereft of reason, at Weston. She was the betrothed of this young soldier.

This display of agility leads to a story of a more successful exercise of bodily powers, which is not likely to be forgotten, as the locality is the property of George Warry, Esq., who has recently restored the original stones, to the right of the road from Bridgwater to Glastonbury, that mark John Swain's Leap.

John Swain was a native of Shapwick; he was taken* "in his bed a few nights after the fight by two of Kirke's dragoons, who on the following morning were marching him to Bridgwater. His young wife and two children, attended by several of the villagers, followed him; and when he arrived at that part of the parish called Loxley Wood, he fell on his knees, and petitioned that the prayer of a father doomed to death might be heard, and that he might be allowed to show "how far he could leap, that his children, when grown up, might keep him in remembrance." His prayer was granted, when he ran and took three successive leaps; and before the soldiers had recovered from their astonishment, he had entered the adjoining coppice, which was so thickly wooded and full of swamps as to render it impossible for the horses to follow. He remained in the ditches of the neighbourhood until the time of slaughter was overpassed, when he returned to his happy family.

When the wretched Colonel Wade lay wounded after his capture at Brendin, and was continually fainting from having been shot in the back, the apothecary, Nicholas Cooke, and the surgeon, Henry Ravening, wrote to Sir Bourchier Wrey, to know what was to be done with the body if he died. Though no one appeared to bring any charge against the sufferer, no process had been issued, much less any verdict returned, these medical gentlemen considered it necessary to announce to Sir Bourchier, that if Wade died before an answer came they would embowel him!! † Wade lived. Did he ever learn how ready the medical men of North Devon were to act without law?

When a young couple were blessed with offspring,

* Chilton Priory.

† Lansdown MS., 1152.

the mother, while early instilling the rudiments of virtuous instruction, did not fail to procure the means for early capability of keeping Shrove Tuesday in an orthodox manner. The village tailor made a cloth-representation of a cock, which, being lined with lead, regained an erect position upon being knocked down by the juvenile cock-squailer. To practise upon a living bird was but the next step in the art. Mothers do occasionally employ the tailor, but are ashamed to own the use and design of the gay appendage to the dresser. The ornamental bird, thanks to better feeling, is now a plaything. The lovely groups of children that are seen in our path-fields keep May in as marked a manner as when each bore an impaled cockchafer.

Those who attended executions, and treated themselves to wine, drank the King's health as the prisoners were turned off. Numbers went miles from home to be present at a bull-baiting. It is pleasing to be able to mention, by way of contrast, that fishermen now abstain, from a right feeling, from driving pegs into the claws of lobsters. Cruelty, in a word, is daily becoming more uncommon. May we not indulge a hope that this fact is to be attributed to a really improved state of civilisation, the consequence of a more universal reception of genuine Christian principles?

CHAPTER XXV.

FLIGHT AND CAPTURE OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

Monmouth, Lord Grey, and others, seek safety in flight. — Direction they take. — Tradition respecting a horse. — Error pointed out. — Dr. Oliver's advice. — Lord Grey opposed to it. — Curious anecdote. — Pamphlet published by authority. — Where deficient. — Monmouth makes for Downside. — Strode Pardon. — Party make for the New Forest. — Reason assigned. — Between Gillingham and Shaftesbury take a guide. — Go by White Sheet, Cranbourn Chase, and Woodyates Inn. — Monmouth disguises himself as a shepherd. — Militia scouts out. — Lord Lumley's scouts seize Lord Grey and the guide. — Sir W. Portman joins Lord Lumley. — A woman states she has seen two men go over a hedge. — The two militia commanders agree to divide the reward between their men. — Dogs used in the pursuit. — The Duke loses his snuff-box. — Proceeds to Shag's Heath. — Busse taken, July 8., 5 A.M. — Confesses he left the Duke about 1 A.M. — Parkin discovers the Duke about 7 A.M., July 8., hid under fern and brambles in a ditch. — Sir W. Portman rides up. — Secures Monmouth from violence. — Messengers dispatched to the King. — Anecdote of Parkin and Farrant. — State the Duke was in. — Comments. — Monmouth is conducted to Holt Lodge. — Monmouth Close. — Its situation. — What Sir W. Portman found upon the Duke's person.

LET us return to the field of Sedgemoor, where, between two and three o'clock A.M., July 6, the Duke of Monmouth, seeing the battle was lost, took off his armour, and prepared to seek his personal safety in flight.

The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, Dr. Oliver, an officer of Brandenburgh, named Busse, commonly called the Brandenburgher, William Williams, the Duke's servant, and some dragoons (James II. says fifty), then rode off at full speed towards Brinsfield Bridge, and thence to Chedzoy. The Duke's horse being much

tired, he was supplied with another in that village. William Stradling, Esq. writes: —

"The horse was the property of an ancestor of mine; and tradition says, that whilst the servant was putting on the saddle and bridle the Duke stepped into the house and took off his collar and George. He had round his neck what appeared to be a lady's girdle, of blue ribbon richly embroidered, and fastened with a silver buckle. This he threw over the neck of a little boy two years old, whom he took in his arms and kissed, saying, "This may be of use to you some day, and I can have it again." For many years after, this curious relic was touched by the superstitious for the King's Evil. When the proprietor was married he settled at Barnstaple, where he died. The ribbon was lost, but I still have the buckle."*

In order to avoid the moor, the Duke went over Crandon Bridge, and through the villages on the north side of Polden Hill. In the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1772 are two views given of a cottage in the parish of Grenton, called Edge House, upon the south-east edge or border of Sedgemoor, where it is said the Duke, in his retreat, was hospitably entertained by a shepherd. Mr. Stradling remarks, that the same story is told of two or three other places, which he accounts for by supposing that some of the officers of Grey's troops, in their retreat, personified the Duke in order to deceive his pursuers. If the party had made along the moor to Edge House they would have been in sight of their pursuers all the way, which was avoided by going by Polden Hill.

After the party had rode about twenty miles from

* Chilton Priory.

14,840

the moor, "Doctor Oliver, afterwards physician to Greenwich Hospital, rode up to the Duke, and said, 'Sir, this is the farthest you can go without throwing yourself into the hands of your enemies, who are waiting for you all over the country eastward. Nobody has yet heard of our ill success in those parts; let us turn off to the sea coast over against Wales, seize one of the passage-boats at Uphill, and get over to the other side, where I know you have friends, among whom you will be safe till you can retire elsewhere.' I had this from the Doctor himself. The Duke inclined to hearken to him; but the Lord Grey checked Oliver for offering to give such foolish advice, as he called it, and the Duke going away with him, 'God bless you, sir,' said the Doctor, with tears in his eyes, 'I shall never see you more;' so setting spurs to his horse, he rode off to Bristol, about twelve miles from that place."*

A small pamphlet, published by command of James II., supplied the cravings of the court party for immediate information respecting the flight and capture of the arch enemy.† Such a publication may be compared to a narrative of some passing event that appears in a newspaper of the present day, an acknowledged

* Dr. Oliver's advice was excellent, and might have preserved the Duke of Monmouth. The Doctor lay concealed among his friends, shuddering at the horrors of the time, and planning his escape to the Continent. After the Bloody Assize he travelled in disguise to London, in company with no less a personage than Judge Jeffreys' clerk, to whom he was recommended as a Tory. — *Woolrych's Life of Jeffreys.*

† An Account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c. By His Majesty's command. London. Printed by B. G., for Samuel Keeble, at the Turk's Head, over against Fetter Lane, in Fleet Street, 1686; folio, containing four pages. It is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, ix. 123. London, 1810, 8vo.

government organ. It gave what was known at the moment.

The pages of Oldmixon inform us that the Duke's party, who fled from Sedgemoor, were at one time within twelve miles of Bristol. It has ever appeared that the account, published by authority, is strikingly defective in taking up the flight at so distant a point as Gillingham, near Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire. James II. did not know, at the time he directed this publication, the exact route the Duke had taken; one kind friend of the Duke had not then been denounced, and thereby exposed to the pains to which his hospitality or compassion had subjected him. Eventually involved in the general proscription this act occasioned, the Duke's friend escaped that execution with which others were visited, for only entertaining the followers of Monmouth, and two years after procured a pardon at a price not now known.

The party made across the Mendip Hills to Downside, one mile and a half from Shepton Mallet, on the road to Bath, and were entertained that night by Edward Strode, Esq.*, who had been with the Duke at Shepton Mallet, and gave one hundred guineas.† The Duke pursued his route the next morning, and in the

* The interesting document, the *Strode Pardon*, settles the precise route of the Duke, upon which historians are silent. It is in the possession of Colonel Sir Henry Bayly, K.H., Burley Villa, Lyme Regis, and is dated March 26. 1687. This gentleman has a fine miniature of Colonel Strode of Bowlish, near Shepton Mallet, one of the members who withstood the encroachments making by Charles I. upon the constitution. His daughter married Mr. Browne of Downside. This gentleman had two daughters who married two Mr. Baylys. A Miss Joanna Bayly sent to the uncle of Sir Henry Bayly the pistols and pardon; she is supposed to have received these from the Reverend — Bayly, of Westbourne, Sussex. Sir Henry Bayly is connected with Lord Delamere, the Duke of Monmouth's Cheshire friend.

† Lansdown MS., 1152. Examination of Richard Goodenough.

hurry of his flight left behind him a large pair of horse-pistols.*

The Duke was induced to make for the New Forest; most probably as directly in the route to Lymington, where Colonel Dore, the mayor, who had proclaimed him, would provide a vessel, and perhaps fly in company with him.†

When between Gillingham and Shaftesbury the party procured a guide, Richard Hollyday, to lead them to the New Forest, by a route most free from towns and watches. This man took them by White Sheet, four miles east of Shaftesbury, and thence by Cranbourne Chase; where, their horses being tired, the Duke dismounted at Woodyates Inn, and disguised himself as a shepherd.‡ The party let their horses loose, and hid their bridles and saddles.

In the meantime, the news of the defeat coming to the Lord Lumley, ancestor of the Earl of Scarborough, then posted at Ringwood, in Hampshire, with three troops of horse of Colonel Stapley's regiment, commanded by Major Bridger, Captain Monk, and Captain Peckham, and four companies of foot of Colonel Alford's regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Cooper, Captain Bickeley, Captain Best, and Captain Carre, all of the Sussex militia, his Lordship was pleased to send his scouts every way to take up suspected persons; and

* Downside, the mansion of the Barnards, persons of consequence in the parish, still remains. William Strode married the daughter and heiress of Edward Barnard, of Downside. His eldest son was Edward Strode, Esq., the friend of Monmouth, who died October 28. 1703, aged 73. The house is now held by the trustees of the Strode charity.

† Echard.

‡ Account of Ringwood, by the Rev. T. Hall, late editor of the "Crypt," Ringwood, 1831. The rest from the account published by authority.

Sir William Portman, for the same end, had taken care for strong watches to be set, made up of his yellow coats, and others on the roads from Poole to the most northern parts of Dorset.

Upon the 7th, about five in the morning, some of the Lord Lumley's said scouts riding in the road near Holt Lodge in Dorset, four miles west of Ringwood in Hampshire, just at the turn of a cross way, surprised and seized two suspected persons, which, when the Lord Lumley came up, proved to be Lord Grey and Holly-day the guide. Lord Lumley now commenced a strict examination of the cottages scattered thickly over this heathy country, and called those to assist him who were acquainted with the locality. Sir William Portman was informed of the capture that had been made, and hastened to the spot, with as many of his horse and foot as he could suddenly get together.*

As Lord Lumley was making inquiries of the cottagers, a poor woman, Amy Farrant †, directed his Lordship to a hedge, over which she had seen two men go. This hedge proved to be part of the outbounds of very many enclosed grounds, some overgrown with fern and brakes, and others sown with rye, peas, and oats. The assembled militia were placed around these outbounds, at short distances from each other, while horse and foot performed their assigned duty — that of beating about within. Lord Lumley and Sir William Portman agreed to divide the reward offered for the capture of the Duke between their respective followers in case of success. This was 5000*l.*

Thus far goes the account published by command. It is silent as to the use of dogs for the purpose of

* Account published by authority, closely followed.

† Or Anna Ferrant.

tracking the illustrious fugitive. Bishop Burnet states that the Duke having changed clothes with a shepherd when he left his horse (at Woodyates Inn, as described), the man was no sooner discovered than the neighbouring loyalists interrogated him, and followed the track with dogs, which Mazure confirms, till they found the Duke.*

The Duke dropped his gold snuff-box, full of gold pieces, in a pea-field, where it was afterwards found, and brought to Mrs. Uvedale of Horton: one of the finders had 15*l.* for his half share of the contents. From Woodyates Inn the Duke proceeded to *Shag's Heath*, an enclosure of several fields lying between the two roads that lead from Horton Inn, the one to Ringwood, and the other to Fordingbridge. In the middle of this enclosure is a cluster of small farms, called the *Island*. Amy Farrant gave information that the fugitives were concealed within the Island. This was correct. The Duke, and Busse the Brandenburgher, eluded their pursuers all the day, the 7th of July, though the soldiers surrounded the place all night, and threatened to fire the wood.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Brandenburgher was discovered. Upon examination, he confessed that he parted with the Duke of Monmouth within those enclosures about one o'clock that morning. It has been considered that the communication of this person greatly contributed to the capture of the Duke. Burnet and Mazure say he pointed out where Monmouth was. It is very probable he did so, as his life was spared. † The spot was at the north-eastern extre-

* A hundred blood-hounds were, in 1795, landed in Jamaica under English auspices, to attack the Maroons. Happily, the Maroons, hearing rumours of the dogs, surrendered without a blow. — *Quarterly Review*, cxliv.

† Anthony Busse, aged thirty, late a captain in the Duke of Brandenburgh's service, had his pardon December 30. He appeared as a witness

mity of the island, now known as *Monmouth's Close*, in the manor and farm of Woodlands, the property of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Every individual was now stimulated to exertion by the hope of having a share of the 5000*l.* offered, according to an agreement made by them in the field. The greatest diligence was used. One Henry Parkin, or Parking, a militia-soldier and servant of Samuel Rolles, Esq., about seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of July, discovered the brown skirt of the Duke of Monmouth's coat as the wretched Duke lay hid in a ditch covered with fern and brambles, under an ash-tree. Echard says the Duke offered to make resistance; but the fellow cried out for help. Upon Parkin's calling to two Sussex troopers that were near, all three seized the Duke's person together. Sir William Portman happening to be near the spot, immediately rode up, and quieted those, who cried, "Shoot him! shoot him!" He laid hands on him as his prisoner, and so preserved him from all violence and rough treatment. Lord Lumley came up at the same instant; and it was agreed that Sir William Portman should search the Duke's person, which was done. So soon as the George was found, Captain Bickeley and Mr. Chaldecot, Sussex and Dorset gentlemen, were despatched with it and the news of the capture to his Majesty, who received the account at midnight, July 8.*

This information is derived from the official account. Other statements express the great regret of the soldier Parkin, when he understood whom he had really cap-

at Edinburgh against the Duchess of Monmouth's sons, and Fletcher of Saltoun to prove the traitorous invasion, &c. Lord Dunbarton had Fletcher's estate. — *Howell's State Trials*, xi. 1027. Fountainhall.

* London Gazette.

tured. He burst into tears, and reproached himself for the discovery. He might, in his anguish, exclaim: —

Cur aliquid vidi? Cur noxia lumina feci?"

but as he deliberately engaged in the pursuit, could he say -

Inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina plector,
Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum." OVID.

Amy Farrant's family are known to have languished in decay and poverty ever afterwards.*

The Duke of Monmouth was in the last extremity of hunger and fatigue, with no sustenance but a few raw peas in his pocket. He could not stand, and his appearance was much changed: —

" Hard toil can roughen form and face,
And want can quench the eye's bright grace;
Nor does old age a wrinkle trace
More deeply than despair."
SCOTT'S *Marmion.*

Since landing in England the Duke had not had a good night's rest, or eaten one meal in quiet†, being perpetually agitated with the cares that attend unfortunate ambition.‡

The author of the " Caveat against the Whigs," says that Monmouth's behaviour was meaner than his garb, and more unsuitable to his former character — trembling and fainting away, so that it was difficult to keep life in

* Ringwood, by the Rev. T. Hall. † Echard.

‡ For the Duke's exhausted state, see an account published at Milan, in the British Museum. Trattati vari Italiani, &c. — riusci loro, finalmente di ritrovarlo in un Bosco sotto un cespuglio tremante, e ridotto in una grandissima stanchezza, e estenuazione di forze; chiese egli subito reficiamento, che le fu somministrato, e posto a cavallo (non potendo regersi in piedi.)

him: and how should it be otherwise? Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, writes, that the Duke had not been in a bed for three weeks. (Sir John did not know of the visit to Mr. Strode of Downside.) Since Saturday night he had not slept; and, after all the fatigues of the battle and the flight, he had received no other sustenance than the brook and the field afforded (some green peas were actually found in his pocket); and when the body sinks the highest mind will sink with it. Even kings themselves are men; and he that is proudest of a throne, if reduced to the like disastrous circumstances, would confess his mortality by the like relentings.*

The wretched prisoner was now conducted to Holt Lodge, the seat of the Ettericks, in the parish of Wimbourne, about a mile from the spot where he had been taken. Here resided Anthony Etterick, Esq. †, a magistrate, to whom the producing the prisoner had probably some connection with the securing the reward of 5000*l.* for taking the Duke of Monmouth dead or alive. This magistrate, looking with compassion on the lean figure and sallow aspect before him, asked the Duke what he would do if he were set at liberty. The other answered, that if his horse and arms were but restored to him at the same time, he needed only to ride through the army; and he defied them to take him again.‡

* Ralph.

† Anthony Etterick, Esq., of Holt Lodge, first recorder of Poole, an eminent lawyer and antiquary, who communicated the addition to Dorset in Camden's Britannic, was buried within the thickness of the walls of the south aisle of Wimbourne Minster, A.D. 1703, where the coffin is to be seen at this day. Hutchins states that, in some dispute with the authorities of the place, he made a vow that he would not be buried either in their church or churchyard; and the matter was thus compromised. — *Communicated by the Rev. Phelips Hanham, rector of Wimbourne.*

‡ Ringwood, by Rev. T. Hall, and communication of the Rev. B. Vince, vicar of Ringwood.

Hutchins writes, that the magistrate ordered him to London.

The field in which the Duke was taken, now known as *Monmouth's Close,* is still thickly covered with quantities of fern, to which the sands of the plastic clay of that neighbourhood are so congenial. The village of Horton is two miles distant, Wimbourne six miles, and Ringwood, in Hampshire, the same distance. Many continue to visit the spot, and leave incisions of initial letters and names upon the trees near.

Sir William Portman found certain papers and books on the Duke's person, which were delivered to his Majesty James II.

One of the books was a manuscript of spells, charms, and conjurations, songs, recipes, and prayers, all written with the Duke's own hand. Sir John Reresby informs us the charms and spells were against death in battle, opening prison-doors, &c.

Two other books were manuscripts of fortification and the military art. The fourth book, fairly written, contained an estimate of the yearly expenses of his Majesty's navy and land forces.

Of the gold found on the Duke's person, only twenty guineas were given to Parkin the servant, who discovered him, and ten guineas each to the two troopers who assisted the former; the rest was returned to the Duke.

Frequent reference has been made to the Duke's Pocket-book, which contained a diary of meetings and reconciliation with the late King, and of his Majesty's design to recall him, which was interrupted by death. These have been given in preceding pages.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE CAPTURE TO INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.

The Duke is taken to Ringwood. — His behaviour. — Writes a letter to the King.—Mysterious expression, "one word," treated of.—James II. believes Sunderland was alluded to. — The account given to the King by Sheldon of a communication made by Monmouth. — Character of Sunderland. — Perhaps Monmouth had nothing important to disclose. — Letter to the Queen Dowager. — Letter to Lord Rochester. — Detained two nights at Ringwood.—Proceeds to Farnham Castle, Guildford, Vauxhall, and Whitehall. — Is committed to the Tower. — Finds some charms he had worn were but foolish conceits. — Manner in which the Duke was guarded. — The INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES II. — Particulars. — Fox's remarks. — Duke complains of having been imposed upon by rogues and villains. — Particularly complains of Ferguson. — Gives some details.

THE Duke of Monmouth and his companions in flight were taken to Ringwood, the former, as before mentioned, in a state of great exhaustion. When we consider the intimate connection between body and mind, we must in justice make due allowance for this prostration of strength and spirit, which produced visible effects, and not unreasonably so, in the captive's letters and conversation. Dalrymple confirms the account in Gazettes, Ralph, &c., that Monmouth fainted and wept. "Though Monmouth wanted not present courage in the day of battle, yet his heart failed him when, in cold blood, he was forced to look death in the face. That familiarity which men contract with danger while they have so many companions of it in the field is not always the same when they are to outbrave it alone upon a scaffold."*

* Clarke's Life of James II.; either the language of James II. or the compiler.

The Duke of Monmouth was sufficiently recovered on the day of his capture, 8th July, to write the following letter to the King, which Archdeacon Echard, in a manner Fox deemed not so seemly for a churchman, terms submissive: —

" SIR,

" Your Majesty may think it the misfortune I now lay under makes me make this application to you; but I do assure your Majesty it is the remorse I now have in me of the wrong I have done you in several things, and now in taking up arms against you. For my taking up arms, it was never in my thought since the King died. The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witness for me of the assurance I gave them, that I would never stir against you. But my misfortune was such as to meet with some horrid people that made me believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so many false arguments, that I was fully led away to believe that it was a shame and a sin before God not to do it. But, sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say of myself that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness as to speak to your Majesty, for I have that to say to you, sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign.

" I am sure, sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the zeal I have of your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse any thing I have done, if I did not really

think myself the most in wrong that ever a man was, and had not from the bottom of my heart an abhorrence for those that put me upon it, and for the action itself. I hope, sir, God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with the abhorrence of what I have done. Wherefore, sir, I hope I may live to show you how zealous I shall ever be for your service: and could I but say one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, sir, I do beg of you once more to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be

"Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful

"MONMOUTH."*

The mysterious expression ONE WORD has employed many pens in futile attempts to clear up the difficulty.

What had Monmouth to communicate? Fox says some thought the Duke had to disclose some connection with the intriguing secretary of state, the Earl of Sunderland. Macpherson's favourite hypothesis was that the secret consisted in the Prince of Orange being a party to the expedition; but this is totally destroyed by the mention made in the letter of the Prince and Princess of Orange. A third supposition is that Monmouth, in his dejected condition, unmanned by his misfortunes and fatigue, meant to discover his friends.

"Perhaps after all the letter," writes Fox, "has been canvassed with too much nicety, and the words of it weighed more scrupulously than, proper allowance being made for the situation and state of mind of the writer, they ought to have been. They may have been thrown out at hazard, merely as means to obtain an interview,

* Fox's History of James II.

of which the unhappy prisoner thought he might, in some way or other, make his advantage. If any more precise meaning existed in his mind, we must be content to pass it over as one of those obscure points of history upon which neither the sagacity of historians, nor the many documents since made public, nor the great discoverer Time, has yet thrown any distinct light."

Only eight years after Fox's History appeared, the Memoirs of James II., collected from the Stuart Papers by Dr. Clarke, were published. These contain some curious particulars respecting the meaning of the expression *one word*, and go to support the supposition that the Earl of Sunderland's connection with the Duke of Monmouth was the secret that the unfortunate captive wished to disclose.

"Monmouth," it is stated in the Memoirs, "was not satisfied with his letter; but the King having sent Mr. Ralph Sheldon to meet him upon the road, and accompany him to town, he reiterated his petition to him upon a particular instance, which he fancied the King would be more than ordinarily moved with."

The Duke of Monmouth having asked Mr. Sheldon who were the persons in greatest credit with the King, he named my Lord Sunderland in the first place; at which the Duke, knocking his breast in great surprise, said, "Why then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet me;" and desired Mr. Sheldon to acquaint his Majesty, and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, whereof he perceived (he said) there were some in whom his Majesty put the greatest trust. When Mr. Sheldon returned, and was giving the King an account of what he had learned, Lord Sunderland (uneasy, perhaps, under the apprehension he might reasonably be in), pretending business, was admitted into the closet,

at which Mr. Sheldon, making a stop, desired to speak to his Majesty in private; but the King told him he might say any thing before that lord, which put Mr. Sheldon to some perplexity what to do: but not daring to conceal what he imagined concerned his Majesty so nearly, said, "He was commissioned by the Duke of Monmouth to assure his Majesty that my Lord Sunderland himself was of intelligence with him. At which my Lord Sunderland seemed extremely struck, so that the King could not but observe it; but soon recovering himself, said, with a feigned laughter, "If that be all he can discover to save his life, it will do him little good;" at least it did that lord no harm. For whether he had got permission for the King to do something of that kind, under pretence of discoveries (though in reality to secure himself, and under the notion of serving his Majesty more effectually preserve his stake, whoever won the game), or whatever fetch he had to bring himself off, does not appear; but it is certain he found means to wipe off the suspicion, and keep up his credit with the King, though it is probable, had the Duke of Monmouth succeeded, he had then made as great a merit of betraying his master to him as he did afterwards to the Prince of Orange: for when that unfortunate Duke was discussing at sea with those he had most confidence in of what measures he should take at his landing, Ferguson advised him not to be too hasty in giving employments, but reserve them for baits to bring great men over to him, he said he would follow his council, and assured him he had promised none but only my Lord Sunderland that which he was now in possession of.*

* Clarke's Life of James II.

This last story is evidently the same as that given by Ferguson in his narrative in Echard's History, who claimed having made a double discovery — that Monmouth intended to make himself king, and that he had promised an exalted post to some great man whose name Echard does not communicate.

It demands some insight into the character of the Earl of Sunderland to enable us to credit the whole of this narrative.*

It is supposed that the worst things he engaged in during his administration under James were, while he was in a secret league with the Prince of Orange, and doing his best to promote a revolution. So degraded was he, that, after the revolution, Lord Dartmouth says, he, and his friends for him, pleaded that he turned Papist for the good of the Protestant religion; and Burnet, in the passage to which this note is appended, admits that his change of religion had since been imputed to this desire "to gain the more credit, that so he might the more effectually ruin the King." James at last, but too late, dismissed him, 28th October, 1688. Evelyn speaks of the reports as to the cause, and adds, "there was doubtless some secret bêtrayed, which time may discover."

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, Sunderland went over to Amsterdam, whence, however, he and his wife wrote to the Prince, claiming his protection on the ground that they had been all along in his interest.

He had been detected towards the close of Charles II.'s reign, in intriguing, along with the Duchess of Portsmouth, Godolphin, and the French ambassador Barillon, for the exclusion of James from the throne.

* See an excellent notice of the Life of Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, in the Penny Cyclopædia, to which we are much indebted.

When that Prince became King, he was not only retained in office, but acquired a greater ascendency in the administration than ever. This extraordinary fortune he owed, in part, to his admirable talents for business, which made him almost indispensable; in part to his equally unrivalled skill in the art of insinuation, a skill moreover which he practised with the great advantage of being utterly unrestrained, either by principle, (at least, as commonly understood,) or by any attempt to preserve the appearance of consistency.

The Princess Anne calls Sunderland "the subtilest working villain that is on the face of the earth."*

It is said that when Edmund Smith was applied to by Addison, at the instance of the Whig ministry of Queen Anne's time, to write the history of the Revolution, he started an objection to which no reply could be made, by asking, "What shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?"

Enough has been adduced to show what an unprincipled and despicable character Sunderland was. James II., in the leisure of his retirement, naturally felt deeply the desertion and the great perfidy of many of his most intimate councillors and friends. While recording the particulars of his eventful history, he must have been inclined to be severe upon those who had been faithless to him. Still the narrative is circumstantial; and we are prepared to credit the striking facts, and to conclude that the Duke of Monmouth, deceived by Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, intended to expose his treachery, and while involving a despicable plotter in ruin to save his own life. In

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appendix, part. i. pp. 299—301.

describing the interview between Monmouth and the King, the conduct of Sunderland, and the reason why he permitted it to take place, will be touched upon. The charge of withholding a letter sent by the Duke from the Tower will also have to be treated of.

After all, it is most probable that this unfortunate nobleman had, in reality, nothing of great importance to disclose, and that he put forth these promises merely to excite curiosity, and obtain an interview with the King. It was not the first time that he had employed such an artifice.* Expressions of very similar import are to be found in a letter to Charles II., at a time when the Duke was charged as an accomplice in the Rye-House Plot.

The unfortunate captive employed the 9th of July in writing to the Queen Dowager and to the Earl of Rochester the following letters.

After the discovery of the Rye-House Plot, the Queen interceded for the Duke of Monmouth with the Duke and Duchess of York, which the King, who had seen, and was reconciled to the Duke, took so particularly kind of her, that he even made her his most particular acknowledgments. This was the reason why the Duke wrote to the Queen.

* Dr. Lingard.

"MADAM*,

"From Ringwood, the 9th.

"Being in this unfortunate condition, and having none left but your Majesty that I think may have some compassion of me, and that for the last King's sake makes me take the boldness to beg of you to intersed for me. I would not desire your Majesty to doe it if I wear not from the bottom of my hart convinced how I have bine disceaved in to it, and how angry God Almighty is with me for it: but I hope, madam, your intersęsion will give me life to repent of it, and to shew the King how really and truly I will serve him hereafter. And I hope, madam, your Majesty will be convinced that the life you save shall ever be devoted to your service; for I have been, and ever shall be,

your Mat.ie most dutifull and obedient
servant MONMOUTH

* Lansdown MS., 1236., art. 230. See Sir H. Ellis's original letters, vol. iii.

"For the Earl of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer of England.

"From Ringwood, the 9th of July, 1685.*

"My Lord,

"Having had some proofs of your kindness when I was last at Whitehall makes me hope now that you will not refuse interceding for me with the King, being I now, though too late, see how I have been misled. Were I not clearly convinced of that, I would rather die a thousand deaths than say what I do. I writ yesterday to the King, and the chief business of my letter was to desire to speak to him, for I have that to say to him that I am sure will set him at quiet for ever. I am sure the whole study of my life shall hereafter be how to serve him; and I am sure that which I can do is more worth than taking my life away; and I am confident, if I may be so happy to speak to him, he will, himself, be convinced of it, being, I can give him such infallible proofs of my truth to him, that though I would alter it, it would not be in my power to do it. This which I have now said I hope will be enough to encourage your Lordship to show me your favour, which I do earnestly desire of you; and hope you have so much generosity as not to refuse it. I hope, my Lord, and I make no doubt of it, that you will not have cause to repent having saved my life, which, I am sure, you can do a great deal in it, if you please; being, it obliges me for ever to be entirely yours, which I shall ever be as long as I have life,

"Monmouth."

* Singer's Clarendon Correspondence.

The prisoners were detained at Ringwood two nights after their capture. On Friday Lord Lumley disbanded the foot there. Three troops of Sussex horse, and one troop of the Dorset militia, commanded by Captain Fownes, escorted the prisoners to Winchester, where two troops of the King and two of the Northampton militia joined them, and the whole proceeded to Farnham Castle, the palace of Bishop Mews, Saturday the 11th. On the following day, Sunday, 12th July, they proceeded to Guildford; and on Monday, 13th July, to Vauxhall, where Lord Dartmouth's regiment, with other troops, received them. The prisoners were conveyed to Whitehall in barges.* About eight in the evening they were carried to the Tower in the King's barges, guarded by several other barges with soldiers.† The entry, at the Tower, of the committal is thus: — "James Duke of Monmouth, July 13., for high treason in levying war against the King, and assuming a title to the Crown."‡

Sir George Rose gives an authentic anecdote from the Earl of Dartmouth's MS. notes on Burnet, and concludes that the orders referred to were given by James, after having received Monmouth's letter written on 8th July. "My uncle, Colonel William Legge, who went in the coach with Monmouth to London as a guard, with orders to stab him if there were any disorders upon the road, showed me several charms that were tied about him when he was taken, and his table-book (tablet), which was full of astrological figures that nobody could understand: but he told my uncle that they had been given him some years before in

* Account published by authority.
† London Gazette.
‡ Bayley's History of the Tower.

Scotland; and said, he found now they were but foolish conceits.

"As the prisoners passed through Rumsey, Winchester, Farnham, and Guildford, one would admire to see the very great numbers of the militia, with the deputy-lieutenants, and gentlemen of those parts that were ready to guard them, and take off the fatigue of such as were on the march.

"Within doors, none but commission officers were trusted to watch by them; and besides these, the Lord Lumley and Sir William Portman took their turns to watch in person night and day from the time of the taking of the said late Duke until they had delivered him safe at Whitehall, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower."*

The wretched Duke dined at Clifford's lodgings† in company with Lord Grey. It was after dinner, having his arms loosely tied behind him, the Duke of Monmouth was first introduced to the King in the apartments of Chiffinch, who received him in the presence of Sunderland and Middleton, the two secretaries of state. This interview with the monarch has engaged the indignant pens of many writers, and that drew forth the self-condemnation of James when he came to reflect upon that transaction. Kings are fast bound by usages and etiquette. Mankind agree in blaming any departure from these. James was guilty of an ungenerous departure from a well-known maxim of royal usage—that a criminal should be allowed to see the face of his Sovereign only to receive his pardon. He must have

* Account published by authority.

† Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs.—The Buccleugh MS. has Mr. Griffin's, a mistake for Chiffin's, a common way of spelling Chiffinch.

heard, though he seemed to have forgotten, that noble, though homely popular saying, —

" A kings face
Should give grace."

When the courtiers complained to Titus that his liberality and kindness to applicants, who gained admission to the presence of that emperor, named " the delight of mankind," was excessive, he replied, " that no one ought to leave his presence with a sorrowful countenance."* Henry VII. would not grant Perkin Warbeck an interview after his capture in 1497 ; but his curiosity induced him to take a secret view from behind a screen.

The monarch, or his biographer's account of the affair, after alluding to the solicitation used, proceeds thus : —

" There were so many persons ready to second the Duke of Monmouth's request, and among the rest the Queen Dowager herself, that the King, suffering his good nature to overpower his judgment, at last consented to see him, which certainly he should not have done unless he had been disposed to pardon him : but perhaps he was not so entirely cured of that suspicion Mr. Sheldon had raised of his favourite, as not to be willing to hear something more of the matter; and for the same it is strange that my Lord Sunderland did not oppose it; unless (as it was said afterwards) he, underhand, assured the Duke of Monmouth of his pardon if he confessed nothing, and then, when he had made him destroy his own credit by contradicting himself, took care to have him despatched as soon as possible afterwards. When, therefore, the Duke of Monmouth was brought before the King, he fell upon

* Non oportere quenquam à sermone principis tristem discedere. — *Suetonius in Titum.*

his knees*, crawling upon them to embrace those of his Majesty, and, forgetting the character of a hero, which he had so long pretended to, behaved himself with the greatest meanness and abjection imaginable, omitting no humiliation or pretence of sorrow as repentance to move the King to compassion and mercy; but there appearing no great matter of discovery, there was no advantage drawn to either side by this unseasonable interview."† Monmouth tasted a bitterness worse than that of death—the bitterness of knowing that he had humbled himself in vain.

The foregoing was written after the event. James has, however, left an impression of his feelings at the time, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, July 14.‡

Monmouth and Lord Grey "desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectations in what they said to me. The Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected from one who had taken upon him to be King."§

James reminded Monmouth of his early education under the Oratorians, and requested to know if he wished for the aid of a Catholic priest.

The King did not believe that the Duke of Monmouth was the son of Charles II., any more than many others, but that of Colonel Robert Sydney. Twenty months had not elapsed since he had obtained the pardon of his Majesty, then Duke of York, on a solemn promise to be the first to draw the sword in defence of his rights.

* Barillon writes that he went twice on his knees. — *Mazure.*
† James's Memoirs, by Dr. Clarke. ‡ Dalrymple's Memoirs.
§ Fox.

Bishop Kennet's account of the interview is that followed by most of the modern historians *, not because its truth is more susceptible of proof, but because it is more striking and dramatic. It is inconsistent with that of James II.'s Memoirs, Dalrymple, Reresby, &c. Dr. Lingard writes, that no credit is due to it.

"This unhappy captive, by the intercession of the Queen Dowager, was brought to the King's presence, and fell presently at his feet, and confessed he deserved to die; but conjured him, with tears in his eyes, not to use him with the severity of justice, and to grant him a life which he would be ever ready to sacrifice for his service. He mentioned to him the example of several great princes, who had yielded to the impressions of clemency on the like occasions, and who had never afterwards repented of those acts of generosity and mercy; concluding in a most pathetic manner, 'Remember, sir, I am your brother's son; and if you take my life, it is your own blood that you shed.' The King asked him several questions, and made him sign a declaration, that his father told him he was never married to his mother; and then said he was indeed sorry for his misfortunes, but his crime was of too great a consequence to be left unpunished, and he must of necessity suffer for it. James's queen is said to have insulted him in a very arrogant and unmerciful manner; so that, when the Duke saw there was nothing designed by this interview but to satisfy the Queen's revenge, he rose up from His Majesty's feet with a new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower."†

The topics, says Fox, used by Monmouth are such as he might naturally have employed; and the de-

* Fox. † Kennet, iii. 432. Echard, iii. 771.

meanour attributed to him, upon finding the King inexorable, is consistent enough with his character: but that the King took care to extract from him a confession of Charles's declaration with respect to his illegitimacy before he announced his final refusal of mercy, and that the Queen was present for the purpose of reviling and insulting him, are circumstances too atrocious to merit belief, without some more certain evidence. It must be remarked also, adds Fox, that Burnet, whose general prejudices would not lead him to doubt any imputations against the Queen, does not mention her Majesty's being present*, as Sunderland and Middleton, the two secretaries of state were.†

The King, who died in the belief that the Prince of Orange favoured the design, asserted that Bentinck, the ambassador from the States, was in a grievous agony when he understood the King was resolved to see Monmouth; and though, after inquiry, he found he had said nothing of what he apprehended in relation to his master, yet he was never at quiet till his head was struck off.‡

The writer of the Buccleugh MS.§ gives the substance of what he had been able to learn was communicated by Monmouth at the interview. The Duke complained of having been deceived and imposed upon by a company of rogues and villains, who flattered him with the hopes of achieving great matters; that if he once landed on English ground all the nation would declare for him; that his assuming the title of King, and causing himself to be proclaimed—both against

* Fox, 277. † Mazure.

‡ Memoirs of James, by Dr. Clarke, ii. 58.

§ Published in Sir George Rose's observation upon Fox's history, and procured for him by the late Sir Walter Scott.

his judgment and inclination — was an artifice they made use of to induce him to believe, that by so doing all the gentry as well as the rabble would come in; that Ferguson was the chief instigator of the expedition, and the writer of the Declaration; that the design of invading the nation was not formed three weeks or one month before it was executed; that the money came from private and not from public funds. One Look, an Anabaptist, in Holland, had helped him to a thousand pounds, and had promised to follow him into England in five days after his landing, with a considerable sum of money, to have been collected amongst persons of his acquaintance;—finally, that it was by much importunity of these rogues he was prevailed upon to take that expedition. The writer adds, "This is what I have learned of what passed in general; but as to particular persons and things, I have no light into."

The interview was in all probability fatal to the interests of Halifax, who was soon after dismissed from office by the King, with the remark that it was for reasons locked up within his own breast. Lingard surmises that Monmouth may have detailed the particulars of the intrigue for the banishment of James towards the close of the late reign, which had been so artfully conducted by Halifax. The Duke is said to have narrated the whole progress of his attempt, and perhaps added what he had learned of the designs of the Prince of Orange.* Barillon wrote the following account to the King of France: —

"He declared that he had received no assistance from any one, and that he came with two hundred pieces only; that the arms which he purchased only cost eight

* Lingard.

hundred pieces, and that his jewels were sufficient. He excused his conduct by the entreaties and reproaches of his party, who accused him of want of courage. He hoped for a revolt in many parts of England. Some believe the Duke of Monmouth has spoken against the Prince of Orange. But I have penetrated nothing of this matter; and by all that I can learn the Duke of Monmouth said nothing very important. ..... He asked to speak a second time to the King; but permission was not granted. He spoke alone to my Lord Feversham, to whom he said nothing of consequence." *

After the interview, which lasted forty or fifty minutes, the unfortunate Duke was sent to the Tower. In the way he pressed the Earl of Dartmouth, whose son made the notes on Burnet, as he reported "in a most indecent manner," to intercede once more with the King for his life upon any terms—by which expression Sir George Rose understands banishment, or some other terms short of death; and told him he knew Lord Dartmouth loved King Charles; therefore, for his sake, and God's sake, to try if there were yet no room for mercy. Lord Dartmouth informed Monmouth that the King had told him the truth; which was, that he had made it impracticable to save his life by having declared himself King. "That is my misfortune," said the Duke; "and those that put me upon it will fare better themselves:" and then added, that "Lord Grey had threatened to leave him upon their first landing if he did not do it."†

It has been recorded that Lord Grey, after the cap-

* Barillon 23. 30th July. Lingard, xiii. 234.

† Lord Dartmouth's note on Burnet, quoted by Sir George Rose.

ture of himself and the Duke, seemed rather pleased than fearful. His talk was of hounds and hunting; and when the Duke, at Mr. Chiffinch's, complained of the cold he had got, he, in a scoff, told him his uncle had a cure to be applied in a few days. This conduct gave the censorious world leave to say that he betrayed him.*

* Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs, 12, 13.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A. D. 1685.

The Duchess of Monmouth visits the Duke in the Tower, July 13. — The Duchess and her children were in the Tower before the Duke. — Interview between the Duke and Duchess. — Lord Privy Seal is present. — Conversation is principally between this officer and the Duke. — Duchess questions the Duke as to her knowledge of any treasonable practices. — Is fully exonerated. — Who were to have access to the Duke. — Curious account of the carrying a letter from the Duke to the King. — Feversham waits upon Monmouth to receive his communication. — This proves unimportant. — Monmouth's second letter to the King. — He writes to Roman Catholic lords. — Puts faith in a fortune-teller. — Divines who attended the Duke. — Receives the fatal announcement with terror. — Becomes composed, and even indifferent. — Divines are called "assistants." — Second visit of the Duchess to her husband. — Particulars. — Monmouth takes leave of his children. — The EXECUTION. — How executioner performed his office. — Money given. — Various particulars. — Indignation of the bystanders. — Where and how interred. — Fictitious dying-speech circulated. — How the Duchess behaved. — Character of the Duke of Monmouth. — Medals struck after the defeat. — Banner kicked out of St. George's Hall. — Followers do not believe Monmouth is dead. — Anecdotes of their credulity. — St. Foix writes that Monmouth was the man with the iron mask. — Extract from archives upon this subject. — The true wearer of the iron mask. — Comparison of Perkin Warbeck and Monmouth's expeditions.

AFTER the Duke had been committed to the Tower the Duchess of Monmouth obtained leave from the King to visit her husband that evening, Monday, July 13., and she saw him a second time on Wednesday, July 15., the morning appointed for his execution.

The Duchess, indeed, well deserved to be unmolested, as did her innocent offspring; but she lived in perilous times, when the innocent, if rich, were often confounded with the guilty, even to the shedding of blood.

Sir John Reresby writes incorrectly that the Duchess of Monmouth and her two sons were committed to the Tower. Barillon informed Louis XIV., July 12., the day before the committal of the Duke, to this effect: — "His children are in the Tower. The Duchess would follow them thither. It is believed that they will not get out for a long time on account of the title of king, which their father has taken."* Bishop Burnet alludes to the children being prisoners; the Buccleugh MS. has nothing about committal or inconvenience experienced by the family.† The following entries at the Tower set the matter at rest: —

"The children of the late Duke of Monmouth, 9th July."‡ An order exists to Mr. Cheek, 12th August, for the late Duchess of Monmouth to dispose of the body of her daughter, who is now dead in the Tower.§ The same day the King, then at Windsor, caused the Bishop of Rochester to be informed that his Majesty would have him permit and suffer the late Duchess of Monmouth to bury her daughter in such part of Westminster Abbey as she shall desire.‖

Nothing further appears by way of entry till November 17., when a warrant under the royal signature was directed to the lieutenant, for delivering the two sons of the late Duke of Monmouth into the hands of Samuel Hancock, Esq.§

The family paper before quoted contains full particu-

* Dalrymple's Appendix.

† Appendix to Right Honourable Sir George Rose's Work, "Observations on Fox's History of James II."

‡ Narcissus Lutterell's Diary. The Duchess went voluntarily to take care of them.

§ Bayley's History of the Tower. ‖ State Paper Office, ii. 274.

lars of the interview between the Duchess and her unfortunate husband.*

"With great prudence she desired that Lord Clarendon, the Lord Privy Seal, might be present during the interview to hear all that passed; and his Lordship conducted her to the Duke, the lieutenant of the Tower having received an order to admit them. The meeting of these parties was very melancholy. The Duke saluted the Duchess, and told her he was glad to see her. The conversation that followed was mostly addressed to the Lord Privy Seal, whose presence afforded the wretched Duke an opportunity of descanting upon what he had said to the King upon the great subject that engrossed his mind, the preservation of his life, and enlarging upon the topics. He fancied that James was so far satisfied with what he had said at the interview as that he need not despair of pardon. He urged that his life would be of service to the King, because he knew "the bosome of all the disaffected persons in his dominions," and would be able to detect in future, and prevent all their ill designs against either his person or government.

The Lord Privy Seal told the Duke he had no orders, nor any commission from his Majesty, to say anything to him beyond waiting on his lady and conducting her to him. He bade the Duke lose no time in speaking of his affairs or children if he wished to do so, and offered to withdraw into the next room should the Duke not wish him to be present at what he had to say to his lady. As for his hopes of making peace with the King, he best knew what had passed between them, and what ground for hope he had when he parted from his Majesty. As to his being now convinced of "the villany and knavery

* Buccleugh MS.

of those who set him upon that false design," and joined in the execution of it, it was only what was long before known, having declared so frequently to the late King, Charles II., in the presence of so many persons, that they were knaves and villains. He had said that Ferguson was a "bloody rogue, and always advised to the cutting of throats." How could he have suffered himself to be ruled and imposed upon by them.

This is the substance of what his Lordship said to the Duke, who replied at times to this effect, that he had nothing to say to his lady but what his Lordship might hear, and that he thanked him for the great friendship and kindness he had shown his lady. He frequently kept asking if there were no hopes of mercy, and repeated his desire of making the King's reign "happy and easy."

The Duchess now ventured to interrupt him in these digressions and imaginary expectation of life; and after some general remarks she asked him if ever there existed the least understanding or correspondence between them about those matters which caused his imprisonment? or if she had ever assented to, or approved of, his conduct during the last four or five years? If ever she had done any thing in the whole course of her life to displease or disoblige him, or ever caused him disquiet, except in two particulars, one as to his women, and the other for his disobedience to the late King, whom she always took the liberty to advise him to obey, and never was pleased with the disobedient course of life he lived in towards him?

If in any thing else she had failed in the duty and obedience that became her as his wife, she humbly begged the favour to disclaim it, and she would fall down on her knees, and beg his pardon for it. To which affecting

words the Duke answered, that she had always shown herself a very kind, loving, and dutiful wife towards him, and he had nothing imaginable to charge her with, either against her virtue and duty to him, her steady loyalty and affection to the late King, or kindness and affection towards his children; that she was always averse to the practice of his life and behaviour towards the late King, and advised him to great compliance and obedience towards his commands.

Sir Walter Scott describes the meeting between the Duke and Duchess as having passed with decency, but without tokens of affection. Barillon says their language was *assez aigre de part et d'autre; et qu'il ne leur parla qu'avec dédain* — expressions much too strong if their conversation has been faithfully recorded in the above document. It is elsewhere asserted that when the Duke first heard of the wish of the Duchess to see him, he disowned her, instead of saying she might be introduced.*

The next day the lieutenant of the Tower was informed of his Majesty's commands, that the Duke and Lord Grey should each have a servant, but to be shut up with them†; that the Bishop of Ely will acquaint the Duke that if he desires to see his children it may be allowed.

Lord Arundel, of Wardour, was to have access to the Duke, and any person whom the Lord Privy Seal, or Bishop of Ely, shall think fit.‡

"The following circumstantial account has, I believe," writes Mr. Singer, in his Clarendon Correspond-

* James II.'s Memoirs. Sir John Reresby.
† State Papers, July 14. 1685, ii. 257. Bayley's Hist. of the Tower.
‡ Bayley's History of the Tower.

ence, "never been printed; it was found among the Clarendon Papers."

"Upon the Duke's return to the Tower after the interview with the King, his haughty disposition gave way to his love of life, and he resolved to write to his uncle; perhaps to communicate the secret which he thought would fairly compensate for the pardon he implored. Colonel Scott, the narrator, was of the Duchess of Monmouth's family. Other traditionary accounts say that, in this letter, Monmouth again warned the King against Sunderland, and exposed his treachery; and that the Captain, who is not named in the following narrative, was the infamous Blood, who had an office in the Tower; that he forced the letter from Colonel Scott, and carried it to Sunderland, who destroyed it. The following paper takes a more authentic form, and is so circumstantial as to deserve credit. I know not who the Mr. Bowdler was to whom Colonel Scott related what is here reduced to writing, nor by what means it came to the Hyde family, but the circumstances would very naturally interest the descendants of Lord Rochester and Lord Clarendon; the former having a daughter married to his son, the latter having been present at Monmouth's interview with his Duchess."*

This is Colonel Scott's narrative respecting the suppression of the Duke of Monmouth's letter to King James: —

"In the year 1734 I was in company with Colonel Scott of Harden, of the Duchess of Monmouth's family, and of Dunbarton's regiment, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, in

* See Sir H. Ellis's Historical Letters, iii. 346, for Monmouth's second letter to the King, desiring a short respite, if pardon was impossible. It can hardly be the suppressed letter alluded to.

France, when the Colonel called me to him, and said, 'Mr. Bowdler (not known who he was), you are a young man, and I am an old one; I will tell you something worth remembering. When the Duke of Monmouth was in the Tower, under sentence of death, I had the command of the guard there; and one morning the Duke desired me to let him have pen, ink, and paper, for he wanted to write to the King. He wrote a very long letter; and when he had sealed it, he desired me to give him my word of honour that I would carry that letter to the King, and deliver it into no hands but his. I told him I would most willingly do it if it was in my power, but that my orders were not to stir from him till his execution; and, therefore, I dared not leave the Tower. At this he expressed great uneasiness, saying, he could have depended on my honour; but, at length, asked me if there was any officer in that place on whose fidelity I could rely. I told him that Captain —— (said to be the infamous Blood), was one on whom I would willingly confide in any thing on which my own life depended, and more I could not say of any man. The Duke desired he might be called. When he was come the Duke told him the affair: he promised on his word and honour that he would deliver the letter to no person whatever, but to the King only. Accordingly he went immediately to court, and being come near the door of the King's closet, took the letter out of his pocket to give it to the King. Just then Lord Sunderland came out of the closet, and, seeing him, asked what he had in his hand. He said it was a letter from the Duke of Monmouth, which he was going to give to the King. Lord Sunderland said, "Give it to me; I will carry it to him." "No, my Lord," said the Captain; "I pawned my honour to the Duke that I

would deliver the letter to no man but the King himself." "But," said Sunderland, "the King is putting on his shirt, and you cannot be admitted into the closet; but the door shall stand so far open that you shall see me give it him." After many words, Lord Sunderland prevailed on the Captain to give him the letter, and his Lordship went into the closet with it. After the revolution, Colonel Scott, who followed the fortunes of King James, going one day to see the King at dinner, at St. Germain's, in France, the King called to him, and said, "Colonel Scott, I have lately heard a thing that I want to know from you whether it is true." The King then related the story; and the Colonel assured him that what his Majesty had been told was exactly true. Upon which the King then said, "Colonel Scott, as I am a living man, I never saw that letter, nor did I ever hear of it till within these few days."'"

We know that the letter which Monmouth sent from the Tower was actually delivered to the King, and that in consequence Feversham waited on Monmouth to receive his communication, which proved to be nothing more than what he had previously made.*

The Bill of Attainder, that had lately passed, superseded the necessity of any legal trial, and the presence of the Duke in court, which might have excited commiseration.

The unfortunate Duke wrote a second letter to the King, on the day previous to his execution, Tuesday, 14th July.

"SIR,

"I HAVE received your Majesty's order this day that I am to dye to-morrow. I was in hopes, sir, by

* Lingard, xiii. 232.

what your Majesty said to me yesterday, of taking care of my soul, that I should have had some little more time; for truly, sir, this is very short. I do beg of your Majesty, if it be possible, to let me have one day more, that I may go out of the world as a Christian ought.

"I had desired several times to speak with my Lord Arundel of Wardour, which I do desire still. I hope your Majesty will grant it me; and I do beg of your Majesty to let me know by him if there is nothing in this world that can recall your sentence, or at least reprieve me for some time. I was in hopes I should have lived to have served you, which I think I could have done to a great degree; but your Majesty does not think it fit. Therefore, sir, I shall end my days with being satisfied that I had all the good intentions imaginable for it, and should have done it, being that I am your Majesty's most dutiful

"MONMOUTH.

"I hope your Majesty will give Doctor Tennison leave to come to me, or any other that you will be pleased to grant me.*

"To the King."

The application to the monarch met with a peremptory refusal. The Duke wrote most pressingly to Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Lord Tyrconnel, Roman Catholic nobleman, to Lord Annandale and Dover, and others, to beg a reprieve for him of a few days. King James states, in his Memoirs, that the Duke fell so low as to put confidence in a fortune-teller, who, it seems,

* Harleian MS., 7006—7198, printed in Sir H. Ellis's Historical Letters, iii. 346.

had assured him that if he outlived St. Swithin's day he should be a great man: hence his anxiety. Who of that age was free from superstition?

Monmouth threw out, as a last hope, an intimation of his being disposed to become a Catholic; and James sent persons, most probably priests, to confer with him on the subject. They reported to the King, that he sought to save not his soul but his life.* Bishop Burnet states that Monmouth told the King he knew what his first education in religion had been.

Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, came by the King's orders early in the morning of Tuesday; and Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, upon the refusal of any respite, was ordered to prepare the Duke for the stroke which it was irrevocably fixed he should suffer the following day. They stayed with him all night, and were joined on the following morning by Dr. Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells; and Dr. Tennison, who was most acceptable to the Duke, and who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury.

At the announcement, the Duke seemed lost in an agony of terror; but the struggle was quickly over. The very absence of hope restored the serenity of his mind, and from that moment he was able to look death in the face with an air of composure, which assumed almost the appearance of indifference.†

These divines were styled "assistants," because they stood by, or assisted Monmouth to die. It will be shown that if they assisted, or *stood by*, the unfortunate Duke, they prolonged the agonies of his last hours; baited him with polemics, and even behaved, especially

* Wallace, continuation of Sir James Mackintosh's History of England.

† Lingard.

the bishops, in the moral torture they put him to, more like fathers of the Inquisition.* Like most of his followers who came to the scaffold, the Duke heard much of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance from those who, as orthodox members of our Church, regarded monarchy, not as a human, but as a divine institution, and passive obedience and non-resistance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion. Fox is struck, as every reflecting person must, at there being no trace of the divines having exhorted the Duke to a particular repentance of his Manifesto or Declaration, or having called for a retraction or disavowal of the accusations contained in it. By that he called the peaceful to civil war, and furnished such cogent reasons that many could not resist. They took up arms upon statements of horrid acts, not one of which, perhaps, the Duke of Monmouth believed to be true!

Fox states that it was in the Tower, and not in the closet, the Duke signed a paper renouncing his pretensions to the crown, the same which he afterwards delivered on the scaffold; and that he was inclined to make this declaration, not by any vain hope of life, but by his affection for his children, whose situation, he rightly judged, would be safer and better under the reigning monarch and his successors, when it should be evident that they could no longer be competitors for the throne.† It has been considered that the Duchess of Monmouth only saw the Duke for the interests of her children.

* Wallace. Hawkins, in his Life of Ken, boldly affirms that this prelate did not tease Monmouth on the scaffold. He never acted or assisted but in the devotional part.

† Fox, p. 279.

The information as to the second visit of the Duchess to her husband, now about to undergo his sentence, has been collected from the Buccleugh MS. The perseverance of the divines in their endeavours to prepare the Duke for another world is mentioned as being uninterrupted on the Wednesday, until he was led forth to execution. "His behaviour was brave and unmoved; and even during the last conversation, and farewell with his wife and children, a most mournful scene which no one could behold without melting into tears, he did not show any concern. He declared before all those assembled how averse his Duchess had been to all his irregular courses. She had, he said, never troubled him but on two points,— to complain about women, and his breach of duty towards the late King. That she knew nothing of his last design was clear, from her not having heard from him for a year before it took place,— a fault entirely his own, and divested of any unkindness on her part, from her being ignorant of his address. He gave her a character for the greatest kindness in that particular, and begged her pardon for his many failings and offences towards her. He prayed her to continue her kindness and care to his poor children. Moved by this appeal, the mother fell down in tears at her husband's feet, and begged him to pardon her if ever she had done any thing to offend and displease him, and clasping his knees, fell into a fainting fit, from which she was with difficulty, and long after, recovered. A little before this took place, his children were brought by the Bishop of Ely, all crying around him; but the father acquitted himself in taking leave of them with much composure of mind, exhibiting nothing of weakness or unmanliness." The Duke bade his sons learn

obedience to their King by his unhappy example, and his daughters obey the authority of their mother.*

Ralph records that Dr. Tennison told Bishop Kennet that he advised the Duke to be better reconciled to the Duchess; but he excused himself, saying, "that his heart was turned against her, because, in his affliction, she had gone to plays, and into public companies; by which," said he, "I know she did not love me." The Duke called Lady Henrietta Wentworth, "the choice of his ripened years."

EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

The King determined to have Monmouth publicly executed, that no one could doubt of his death, as they had at first doubted of his imprisonment.†

The following particulars relating to this affecting scene are taken from a very scarce sheet of four folio pages, printed at the time by authority. The title is, "An Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, on Wednesday the 15th of July, 1685, on Tower Hill; together with a Paper signed by himself that Morning in the Tower, in the Presence of the Lords Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Hooper. And also the Copy of his Letter to His Majesty after he was taken, dated at Ringwood in Hantshire, the 8th of July. London: Printed for Robert Horne, John Baker, and Benjamin Took, 1685. Reprinted in Lord Somers's Collection of Tracts, vol. i. p. 216.

"The late Duke of Monmouth came from the Tower to the Scaffold, [at Ten, A.M., Wednesday, 15th July,]

* Pamphlet, in German, in the possession of the author.
† German Pamphlet.

attended by the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Hooper, which four the King was graciously pleased to send him, as his Assistants, to prepare him for Death; and the late Duke himself intreated all four of them to accompany him to the Place of Execution, and to continue with him to the last. The two Bishops, going in the Lieutenant's Coach* with him to the Bars, made seasonable and devout Applications to him all the way; and one of them desired him not to be surprised if they, to the very last, upon the Scaffold, renewed those Exhortations to a *Particular Repentance,* which they had so often repeated before.

"At his first coming upon the Scaffold he looked for the Executioner, and seeing him, said, 'Is this the man to do the business? Do your work well.'†

"Then the late Duke of Monmouth began to speak, some one or other of the Assistants, during the whole time, applying themselves to him.

"MONMOUTH. I shall say but very little: I come to die: I die a Protestant of the Church of England.

"ASSISTANTS. My Lord, if you be of the Church of

* The lieutenant brought him some steps without the fortress in his coach, and then delivered him to the sheriffs of the city, who conducted him on foot through a hedge of soldiery, accompanied by three officers with pistols in their hands, and who ascended the scaffold with him, and remained near him till the execution. — *German Pamphlet.*

† Ralph writes, "On Monmouth's first appearance a murmur of sighs and groans went round the whole assembly, which by degrees sank into almost a breathless silence, as if every syllable he had to utter was sacred, and not to be profaned with the unhallowed mixture of any vulgar sound."

I find among the State Papers, ii. 258.: —

"To the Sheriffs of London. "Whitehall, July 14. 1685.

"The King allows the scaffold for the execution of the late Duke of Monmouth to be covered with mourning; and that his body after execution shall be given to his friends to be disposed of as they shall think fit."

England, you must acknowledge the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* to be true?

"*M.* If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of England in general, that includes all.

"*A.* Sir, it is fit to own *that* Doctrine, particularly with respect to your Case.

"Here he was much urged about that Doctrine of Non-resistance, but he repeated in effect his first Answer.

"Then he began as if he was about to make a premeditated Speech, in this manner.

"*M.* I have had a Scandal raised upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Vertue and Honour. I will name her, *the Lady Henrietta Wentworth.* I declare, That she is a very Vertuous and Godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us was very Honest and Innocent in the sight of God.*

"*A.* In your Opinion, perhaps, Sir, as you have been told—(*i. e.* in the Tower)—but this is not fit Discourse in this Place.

"*Mr. Sher. Gostlin.* Sir, were you ever married to her?

"*M.* This is not a Time to Answer that Question.

"*Mr. Sher. Gostlin.* Sir, I hoped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treason and Bloodshed which have been committed.

"*M.* I dy very penitent.

"*A.* My Lord, It is fit to be *Particular;* and, considering the *Publick* Evil you have done, you ought to

* After the Duke's remark respecting the Lady H. Wentworth, the Duke drew a ring from his finger, and gave it to one of those who stood by him, with the request that this should be given from him to the Lady H. Wentworth. — *German Pamphlet.*

do as much good now as possibly you can, by a *Publick* acknowledgement.

"*M.* What I have thought fit to say of *Publick* affairs is in a Paper which I have signed. — I refer to my Paper.

"*A.* My Lord, there is nothing in that Paper about *Resistance;* and you ought to be *Particular* in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you True Repentance.

"*M.* I dy very Penitent, and dy with great Cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God.

"*A.* My Lord, you must go to God in his own way. Sir, be sure you be truely Penitent, and ask forgiveness of God for the Many you have wronged.

"*M.* I am sorry for every one I have wronged; I forgive every Body: I have had many Enemies: I forgive them all.

"*A.* Sir, your acknowledgement ought to be *Publick* and *Particular.*

"*M.* I am to die. Pray, My Lord — I refer to my Paper.

"*A.* They are but a few Words that we desire: we only desire an Answer to this Point.

"*M.* I can bless God that he hath given me so much Grace, that for these two years last past I have led a Life unlike to my former Course, and in which I have been happy.

"*A.* Sir, was there no Ill in these two Years? In these years, these great Evils have happened; and the giving *publick* Satisfaction is a necessary part of Repentance. Be pleased to own a Detestation of your Rebellion.

"*M.* I beg your Lordship, that you will stick to my Paper.

"*A.* My Lord, as I said before, there is nothing in your Paper about the Doctrine of *Non-resistance.*

"*M.* I repent of all things that a true Christian ought to repent of. I am to die. Pray, Mr. Lord.

"*A.* Then (My Lord) we can only recommend you to the Mercy of God; but we cannot pray with that Chearfulness and Encouragement as we should if you had made a Particular Acknowledgement.

"*M.* God be praised, I have encouragement enough in myself: I die with a clear Conscience: I have wronged no man.

"*A.* How, Sir, no man? Have you not been guilty of *Invasion,* and of much *Blood,* which has been shed; and it may be the loss of *many Souls,* who followed you? You must needs have wronged a great many.

"*M.* *I do,* Sir, own *that,* and am sorry for it.

"*A.* Give it the *true* name, Sir, and call it *Rebellion.*

"*M.* What name you please, Sir. I am sorry for *invading* the Kingdom and for the *Blood* that has been shed; and for the *Souls* which may have been lost by my means. I am sorry it ever happened [*which he spake softly*].

"*Mr. Sher. Vandeput* [*to some that stood at a distance*]. He says he is very sorry for invading the Kingdom.

"*A.* We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give some Satisfaction for the *publick* Injuries to the kingdom. There have been a great many lives lost by this *Resistance* of your LAWFUL PRINCE.

"*M.* What I have done has been very ill; and I wish with all my heart it had never been. I never was a man that delighted in Blood: I was very far from it: I was as cautious in that as any man was. The Almighty

knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulness in the World.

"*A.* God grant you may, Sir; God give you *True Repentance.*

"*M.* If I had not *True* Repentance, I should not so easily have been without the fear of dying. I shall die like a Lamb.

"*A.* Much may come from natural Courage.

"*M.* I do not attribute it to my own Nature, for I am fearful as other men are; but I have now no fear, as you may see by my Face; but there is something within me which does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

"*A.* My Lord, be sure upon good Grounds. Do you repent you of all your Sins, *known or unknown, confessed or not confessed;* of all the Sins which might proceed from *Error* in Judgement?

"*M.* In general for all, I do with all my Soul.

"*A.* God Almighty of his infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great numbers of spectators; here are *the Sheriffs;* they represent the *Great City;* and in speaking to them, you speak to a whole City: make some Satisfaction by owning your *Crime* before them.

"*He was silent here.*

"Then all went to solemn Commendatory Prayers, which continued for a good space; the late Duke of *Monmouth* and the Company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency.

"Prayers being ended, before he, and the four who assisted him, were risen from their knees, he was again earnestly exhorted to a *true* and thorough Repentance. After they were risen up, he was exhorted to pray for the King; and was asked, Whether he did not desire to send some dutiful Message to *His* MAJESTY, and to

recommend *his Wife and Children* to his Majesty's Favour.

"*M.* What harm have they done? Do it, if you please; I pray for him and for all men.

"*Then the versicles were repeated.*

"*A.* O Lord, shew thy Mercy upon us.

"*M.* [He made the Response.) And grant us thy Salvation!

"*A.* [It followed.] O Lord save the King!

"*M.* And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

"*A.* Sir, do you not pray for *the King* with us? [The Versicle was again repeated] O Lord save the King!

"*M.* [After some pause, he answered] *Amen.*

"Then he spake to the executioner, concerning his undressing, &c., and he would have no cap, &c., and at the beginning of his undressing, it was said to him on this manner:—

"*A.* My Lord, you have been bred a *Souldier:* you will do a generous Christian thing, if you please to go to the Rail, and speak to the *Souldiers*, and say that here you stand, a sad example of *Rebellion*, and entreat them and the People to be Loyal and Obedient to the King.

"*M.* I have said I will make no Speeches: I will make no Speeches: I come to die.

"*A.* My Lord, ten words will be enough.

"*M.* [Then calling his Servant, and giving him something like a Toothpick-Case] Here [said he], give this to the Person to whom you are to deliver the other things.

"*M.* [To the executioner] Here are six guineas for you: pray do your business well: do not serve me as you did my Lord Russell. I have heard you struck

him three or four times. Here [to his servant*], take these remaining guineas, and give them to him, if he does his work well.

"*Executioner.* I hope I shall.

"*M.* If you strike me twice, I cannot promise you not to stir.

"During his undressing, and standing towards the block, there were used by those who assisted him divers ejaculations proper at that time, and much of the 51st Psalm was repeated, and particularly, 'Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God,' &c.

"[Then he lay down, and soon after he raised himself upon his elbow, and said to the executioner] Prithee let me feel the axe: [he felt the edge, and said,] I fear it is not sharp enough.

"*Executioner.* It is sharp enough and heavy enough.

"*Then he lay down again.*

"During this space, many pious ejaculations were used by those that assisted him, with great fervency, *ex. gr.*, God accept your repentance! God accept your repentance! God accept your IMPERFECT repentance! My Lord, God accept you GENERAL repentance! God Almighty show his OMNIPOTENT mercy upon you! FATHER, into thy hands we commend his spirit, &c. LORD JESUS, receive his soul!

"Then the executioner proceeded to do his office."

A copy of the Paper, to which the late Duke of Monmouth referred himself in the discourses held upon the Scaffold.†

"I declare, that the title of King was forced upon me; and that it was very much contrary to my opinion,

* Marshall, who had been in the service of Sir Thomas Armstrong.—*Echard.*

† Fox's Hist. of James II.

when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the world, I do declare, that the late King told me he was never married to my mother. Having declared this, I I hope that the King, who is now, will not let my children suffer on this account. And to this I put my hand this fifteenth day of July, 1685.

"MONMOUTH."

"This is a true account. Witness our hands,

"FRANCIS, Ely. THOMAS TENNISON.

"THOMAS, Bath and Wells. GEORGE HOOPER.

"WILLIAM GOSTLIN, } Sheriffs."
"PETER VANDEPUT, }

The account published by authority furnishes no details as to the manner in which the executioner performed his office. This man was much more agitated than he who was to suffer.* The following particulars are from the Buccleugh MS.

"After the devotionary and interrogatory part was over, the Duke went to that part of the scaffold where the block and axe lay. The axe he took in his hand, and felt the edge†, saying to Jack Ketch that surely the axe did not feel as if it were sharp enough; and prayed him to do his office well, and not serve him as he had been told he had the late Lord Russell: for if he gave him two strokes, he would not promise him to receive the third. Putting his hand into his pocket, he gave him six guineas, telling him that if he did his duty well, he had left six more in his servant's hands, provided he did his business

* German Pamphlet.

† Tried the axe with his nail whether it were sharp enough, and promised *twenty* guineas, the half of which his chamberlain was to give him directly, in case he executed him better than Lord Russell. — *German Pamphlet.*

handsomely. All this he said with as much indifference and unconcernedness as if he was giving orders for a suit of clothes. In the catalogue of duties to be performed by the wretched victims of the law at this period, when on the scaffold, must not be omitted the settlement with the executioner. This functionary, like waiters at inns, bolstered up his expectation of reward according to the fame and circumstances of the wretched beings exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and sometimes spurned or grumbled at the gratuity proffered. Algernon Sidney at first gave three guineas, but had to add one or two guineas more."*

No change or alteration of countenance from the first to the last was perceptible. The Duke took off his coat†, and having prayed, laid himself down and fitted his neck to the block, with all the calmness of temper and composure of mind that ever were possessed by any who mounted that fatal scaffold. He would have no cap, nor be bound, nor have any thing on his face; and yet for all this "the botcherly dog, the executioner, did so barbarously act his pairt, that he could not at fyve stroaks of the ax sever the head from the body." At the first, which made only a slight dash in his neck, his body heaved up and his head turned about; the second stroke made only a deeper dash, after which the body moved; the third not doing the work, he threw away the axe, and said "G—d d— me, I can doe no more, my heart fails me." The executioner declared that his limbs were stiffened, and that he would willingly give forty guineas to any one who would finish the work.‡

The bystanders had much ado to forbear throwing

* Sir L. Jenkin's State Papers. Domestic, 1683, 1684.

† And threw off his peruque. — *German Pamphlet.*

‡ German Pamphlet.

him over the scaffold; but made him take the axe again, threatening to kill him if he did not do his duty better. With two strokes more, not being able to finish the work, he was fain to draw forth his long knife, and with it to cut off the remaining part of his neck. He could not hold the head: he only showed it once to the people.*

If there had been no guard before the soldiers, to conduct the executioner away, the people would have torn him to pieces, so great was their indignation at the barbarous usage of the late Duke of Monmouth at his hands.

After his death, the people ran in crowds to the scaffold, and dipped, some their handkerchiefs and some their shirts, in his blood, as it is the custom to do on such occasions, notwithstanding the danger from the thrusts of the halberts and pikes*, which they carried away as a precious relic.

The Duke was clothed in a grey suit with plain linings, and a dark perriwig. His body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, which was laid on the scaffold, and was driven to the Tower in a hearse drawn by six horses with funeral trappings, followed by a mourning coach with six horses.* The head being sewed to the body, it was privately interred under the communion table of the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula. In front of that spot lie the bodies of Anne Boleyn†, and her brother, Lord Rochford; of Queen Katharine Howard; of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets; of Thomas Cromwell, chief minister of Henry VIII., in the suppression of the Papal supre-

* German Pamphlet.

† Miss Strickland writes of traditions that the body was removed and interred elsewhere.

macy; of the two Seymours, him of Sudley, and his clever and perhaps innocent brother, the Protector; of Lord Dudley, and his beautiful and guiltless wife; of the wily Duke of Northumberland; of the Duke of Norfolk, the aspirant to the hand of the Queen of Scots; of the chivalrous and brilliant Earl of Essex, the lover of Elizabeth; and, lastly, Lords Kilmarnock, Balmarino, and Lovat.

Some of the Monmouth party circulated a speech in print, entitled "A brief Abstract of Monmouth's true Speech, &c." No such speech was ever delivered by the Duke. The whole was a specimen of the political artifices of the day.* A few lines will serve as an example: —

"I die in this faith, that God in his good time will deliver his people, and then will be seen the great and horrid villanies our enemies have been guilty of. You see my case is desperate, yet know you all I die a martyr to the people."

King James wrote to the Prince of Orange, informing him that the Duke "died resolutely, and a downright enthusiast."†

Lord Dartmouth, by the King's order, attended the execution. When he gave an account of it to the King he said, "You have got rid of one enemy, but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sank deep into his mind.†

"The Duchess of Monmouth has demeaned herself during this severe trial and dispensation of Providence with all Christian temper and composure of spirit that possibly could appear in a soul so great and virtuous as

* Ralph. † Dalrymple's Memoirs.

hers. His Majesty is exceedingly satisfied with her conduct and deportment all along, and has assured her that he will take care of her and her children. In the afternoon many ladies went and payed the compliment of condolence to her; and when they had told her how great reason she had to bear this dispensation with that virtue that has appeared always in the actions of her life, and how the world celebrated her prudence and conduct during her late lord's disloyalty and behaviour to the late King, and his unkindness to her, that justly gave her a name that few of the former or present ages ever arrived at. To which she modestly replied, that she had bought that commendation dear."

Among other discourses that passed between her husband and her, she declared that for the last four or five years she had received out of her estate in Scotland but 1100*l.*, all the rest being employed by him.*

The reputed income of the Duchess was 10,000*l.* a year. There is a tradition that upon the morning after the execution the King breakfasted with the Duchess of Monmouth, and presented her with a remission of the forfeiture of blood, incurred by the Duke's treason, in so far as it affected the titles and estates of the Buccleugh family. Dr. Lingard believes that the property of Monmouth was not given at breakfast the day after the execution. Barillon speaks of it as having recently occurred, June 7. 1686. On the 12th June, 1686, Mr. Povey, clerk of the office of Plantations, wrote to Sir Robert Southwell, that the late Duke of Monmouth's children are at liberty, and without a guard, and are gone with the Duchess to Moor Park.

Thus fell, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James

* Buccleugh MS.

Duke of Monmouth, one of the most conspicuous members for many years of the British Court, and an acknowledged head of a great party, whose cause was, as they alleged, that of liberty and the Protestant religion. Viewed as the Protestant Champion, who could not expect great praise to have been bestowed upon him by the many whose cause he espoused at the time, and the great majority of the nation at the Revolution? With few exceptions, and those of mean writers, all appear unfavourable to the subject of this memoir. The Tories were so of course; and among the Whigs there seems in many a strong inclination to disparage him, some to excuse themselves for not having joined him, others to make a display of their exclusive attachment to their more successful leader, King William.*

The *éclat* of the Duke's first appearance at court, the beauty of his person, and the natural endowments, with most engaging manners for exciting popular favour, which he possessed, have been described. The absence of a regular education has been mentioned, a want which the Duke felt, and which he sought to remove during the leisure which a period of disgrace at court afforded. This golden opportunity his mode of life rarely allowed. How truly may we say of this leader of a great party,

> "His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports;
> And never noted in him any study,
> Any retirement, any sequestration,
> From open haunts and popularity."
> *King Henry V.* Act i. Scene 1.

How many would have been spoilt by the adulation of a court in which they appeared as idols? Few would have been proof against the flattery to which such a

* Fox's History of James II.

position exposed them. Apart from education, the Duke of Monmouth's abilities were, if not of the first rate, by no means contemptible.* He had the art of inspiring those who followed him not only with confidence and esteem, but with affection, enthusiasm, and even fondness. He was brave, generous, affable, constant in his friendships, just to his word, and an utter enemy to all sorts of cruelty.† As to his failings, we may say of him that he was a courtier of the reign of Charles II., when all the upper classes attained a height of profligacy now happily unknown. The treatment of his wife was altogether inexcusable, and the worst feature in the Duke's conduct.

The charge of a want of filial duty and gratitude, and that towards a parent so eminently a benefactor, is of a serious nature. Presuming the Duke of Monmouth to have possessed an excellent disposition, many circumstances must have contributed to outweigh the scruples that doubtless harassed his mind when pursuing such a line of conduct. Very probably the affection of Charles to his son, as well as the undutifulness of Monmouth to his father, have been greatly exaggerated. The father may have anticipated a recurrence of affairs which would have endangered his life and crown while serving his brother the Duke of York, when safety for himself would have been ensured through his son, the Protestant champion, and head of a powerful faction. To interested motives, and not to blind parental or fraternal affection, may be assigned the alternate favour displayed by Charles to the Dukes of York and Monmouth, attended by an equally marked severity of treatment of the other. Instead of reading of favour

* Fox. † Welwood.

shown to the individuals, we may safely substitute the great party each represented. To raise or depress each great opposing faction, became in succession the great object of Charles II.; perhaps the leaders, as individuals, were little considered by the monarch.

As to the degree of culpability that attaches to Monmouth for undutifulness to the King his father, and for his declared enmity to his uncle the Duke of York, the matter must be judged after a very attentive reflection upon the times, and the opinions of mankind that prevailed.

In the excited state of men's minds, the greatest that politicians then living ever remembered, and they too who had survived periods of great disturbance, the actions of great men could not without great injustice be all set down to factious motives. The prospect of the Duke of York's succession may have been intolerable to Monmouth for other reasons than those of limiting his views of ambition; and the opposition to the King's orders and expressed wishes may have proceeded from a sincere desire of serving his Majesty's best interests, which Monmouth believed would be sacrificed if the King gave his countenance to the Duke of York and his party, against the wishes of the great majority of his subjects. Instead of pronouncing Monmouth guilty of hostile opposition to his parent, we may safely claim for him a factious conduct, having for its object to render the King's life and crown less precarious than they were then considered to be.

It will be asked by the attentive reader, if Monmouth, the leader of party, and champion, was only guided by filial considerations, without possessing any opinions of his own? Pitiful must have been his character without a large share of these. Motives of a

public nature, and of a more noble character than any personal ones could be, were doubtless present. It is too much to coincide with an historian*, that he believed that the Protestant religion, to which he seems to have been sincerely attached, would be persecuted, or perhaps exterminated, if the King should be successful in his support of the Duke of York and his faction. This was the opinion generally prevalent, while with respect to the civil liberties of the country no doubt could be entertained, that, if the court party prevailed in the struggle then depending, they would be completely extinguished.

No man, writes Ralph, has a right to redress his private wrongs at the expense of the public peace. The Duke incurred an awful moral responsibility in undertaking an expedition the success of which so much depended upon the contingencies of revolts in other parts of England, and the joining of great numbers at his landing, the preparations made in Holland being so inadequate. The followers were deluded; and an immense amount of human woe entailed upon the scene of a hasty or raw rebellion. Success appeared hopeless to the leader, who appears to have surrendered himself to the direction of his associates. This will not appear so surprising if we agree with an historian in the following remarks.*

One of the most conspicuous features in the Duke's character seems to have been a remarkable, and, as some think, a culpable degree of flexibility. That such a disposition is preferable to its opposite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modesty, even in excess, is more nearly allied to wisdom than conceit and

* Fox.

self-sufficiency. He who has attentively considered the political, or indeed the general concerns of life, may possibly go still further, and rank a willingness to be convinced, or in some cases even without conviction to concede our own opinion to that of other men, among the principal ingredients in the composition of practical wisdom. Monmouth had suffered this flexibility, so laudable in many cases, to degenerate into a habit, which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of persons whose characters by no means entitled them to such deference. The sagacity of Shaftesbury, the honour of Russell, the genius of Sidney, might, in the opinion of a modest man, be safe and eligible guides. The partiality of his friendship, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be some excuse for his listening so much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have mistaken Ferguson for an honest man. There is reason to believe that the advice of the two last-mentioned persons had great weight in persuading him to the unjustifiable step of declaring himself King.*

The Duke, though ambitious, had probably for many years no real thoughts of attempting to succeed to the Crown. The people clamoured, and partisans named him as Charles's successor; but this Monmouth could not help. "If the Duke had a design upon the crown, how can we account for his connection with the Duchess of Portsmouth, who, if the succession were to go to the King's illegitimate children, must naturally have been for her own son; his unqualified support of the Exclusion Bill, which, without indeed mentioning her, most unequivocally settled the Crown, in case of a de-

* Fox.

mise, upon the Princess of Orange; and above all, the circumstance of his having, when driven from England, twice chosen Holland for his asylum? By his cousins he was received, not so much with the civility and decorum of Princes as with the kind familiarity of near relations; a reception to which he seemed to make every return of reciprocal cordiality. It is not rashly to be believed that he, who has never been accused of hardened wickedness, could have been upon such terms with, and have so behaved to, persons whom he purposed to disappoint in their dearest and best-grounded hopes, and to defraud of their inheritance."*

The reader will have found ample materials in the Duke of Monmouth's eventful life for forming to himself an estimate of his character. In one point his fortune has been unlike that of so many other unsuccessful leaders. His memory has been spared the reproaches and charges of his unhappy followers in their discomfiture. All appear to have looked upon him as true to them, and their cause; and it is surprising, considering the numbers that suffered death and banishment, that no reflections were cast upon any part of the Duke of Monmouth's conduct.

Some of the Somersetshire peasantry now conceive that Monmouth aimed at being King of the county of Somerset. They have not a word to say against the Duke personally; but they judge that it was a pity in contending for such an object (one King being enough, and one King for every county not being desirable) that so many poor souls should have suffered.

There are thirteen portraits of the Duke referred to in Granger's Biography. Some are so entirely dissimilar

* Fox.

that no one would suppose they were intended to represent the same individual. At Dalkeith there is a portrait of the Duke on horseback, and one in armour: the one in Lodge's work is quite different from others. Many portraits, particularly the early ones, agree in a fulness in the lower part of the face. This is observable in a fine painting, the private property of Sir H. Ellis, of the British Museum. A very fine portrait is among the public collection of that establishment. It justifies in this instance the remark of Pennant, that all pictures of the Duke have a handsome likeness of his father, Charles II.

The Duke of Monmouth's children by the Duchess were, —

1., Charles Earl of Doncaster, born 24th August, 1672, died in 1673; 2., James Earl of Doncaster; 3., Lord Henry Scot, who became Earl of Deloraine, a dignity of late years become extinct; 4., Lord Francis Scot; 5., Lady Charlotte Scot; 6., Lady Anne Scot. The two last died in their infancy.*

The Duke left four illegitimate children, two sons and two daughters, by Eleanor, a daughter of Sir Robert Needham, Knight.

In September, 1685, the heirs of the late Duke were cited to appear in sixty days at Edinburgh.† Collins, in his Peerage, states that the attainder of Monmouth did not take place in Scotland, though the posterity did not inherit the dukedom of Buccleugh till after the death of the Duchess in 1732, to whom the honours had been granted, as well as to her husband.‡ See a curious letter in Collins's Appendix, vol. iii., respecting

* Lodge.

† Fountainhall's Diary.

‡ See Howell's State Trials,

the inheritance of the dukedom of Buccleugh. Sir Walter Scott was of opinion that the dukedom was inherited under the operation of an act passed in Edinburgh 25th April, 1690, entitled "A rescinding the Forfeitures and Fines passed since the Year 1665." Francis Duke of Buccleugh was, by an act of parliament, March 23., 1743, restored to the titles of Earl of Doncaster and Baron Scot of Tindale, with all rights, &c., according to the grant of those honours to his Grace's grandfather, James Duke of Monmouth.*

The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth's son James married the Lady Henrietta Hyde, second daughter of Lawrence Earl of Rochester. This nobleman's conversion was attempted by James II. He agreed to edify himself by listening to a polemical disputation, November 30., 1686, upon the essential differences between the two churches. He decided for the Church of England and his conscience, lost his place, and retired with a pension of 4000*l.* a year from the King, and a grant of 1700*l.* a year for his share in the spoliation of the estate of Lord Grey, and the popularity of a martyr to the Church. His office was abolished, and the duties placed in commission.†

In January, 1686, a grant was made to Anne Duchess of Buccleugh, the ill-used widow of the Duke of Monmouth, and her heirs, of Moor Park, and lands lying in Rickmansworth, county Herts, forfeited to his Majesty by the attainder of the late James Duke of Monmouth.‡ The Duchess was a distinguished protectress of poetical merit, which was evinced to Dryden and Gay. The latter became her secretary. The Duchess is said to

* Collins.

† Wallace. Continuation of Sir James Mackintosh's History.

‡ Serjeant Heywood.

have been very assuming and witty, but possessed of little sincerity. She governed the Duke of York, and made him do several things for her husband which he repented of.*

The Duchess married, secondly, in May, 1688, Charles, third Lord Cornwallis, who was distinguished as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age, and who was afterwards in King William's especial favour. It should, however, be mentioned, that in the Memoirs of Grammont this nobleman is spoken of as extravagant and a gambler. The Duchess of Monmouth bore him a son and two daughters. She survived him, and died February 6., 1732, aged 81, and was buried at Dalkeith. To the last she was resolute in asserting her right to be treated as a princess of the blood.† There are six portraits of the Duchess.

The victorious monarch James caused two medals, which have been called "savage" ones, to be struck on this occasion.

On the first was his own head, *Aras ad sceptra tuemur.* Reverse—Two headless trunks of Monmouth and Ar-

* Note to the Honourable Henry Sidney's Diary, edited by R. W. Blencowe, Esq.

† Sir Walter Scott.

gyle, *Ambitio malesuada ruit.* Second medal: Obverse — Monmouth's head, without any inscription. Reverse — A young man falling in the attempt to climb a rock with three crowns on it, under which was the following truly ridiculous motto, *Superi risere.*

Among the records of the Order of the Garter in Latin deposited in St. George's Hall is an account of the manner in which the Duke of Monmouth's banner was taken down by command of James II. The heralds attended with a concourse of common people, when the banner was kicked out of the western door into a ditch then near the church.*

The followers read with intense feelings the elegy printed shortly after his death: —

> "Come, mortals, come, now set yourselves to weep;
> Is not your glorious Monmouth gone to sleep?
> Send us some tears, you Indians, from your shore,
> For it's our grief that we can weep no more," &c.

The old people, who are just departed, were wont to repeat the following lines, not more doggrel than apocryphal: —

> "Lyme, although a little place,
> I think it wondrous pretty;
> If 'tis my fate to wear the crown,
> I'll make of it a city."

Having thus continued the narrative with no little detail through the capture, execution, and interment of the Duke of Monmouth, it remains to be shown how the great mass of his followers never believed that their darling Duke was dead. They remained for years in expectation of Monmouth's second coming, more great, more glorious, more irresistible than ever.† Such has occurred to other popular characters in many countries.

* Sir W. Scott's notes to Absalom and Achitophel. † Ralph.

SVPERIRISERE IVLY·6·1685·
IACOBVS·DVX
MONVMETHENSIS
CAPVT INTER NVBILA
IACOBVS DVX·MONUMET·FID·ET·LIBERT·DEFENSOR
PA·RUM·SUCCESSIT
FECI·SI·DUO
MDCLXXXV·

The memory of Joan of Arc was long endeared to the French people. In the year 1436, five years after she had been burnt alive, advantage was taken of this feeling by a female impostor, who was acknowledged by Joan of Arc's two surviving brothers. Stranger still, the city of Orleans hailed her in two visits as the heroine returned.*

Many thousands of the people of the West could hardly be ever made to believe that Monmouth was really dead, but continued long in hopes of seeing him again in a triumphant manner. A strange variety of wild and extravagant stories were told and believed upon this occasion; but that which went the farthest, and appeared the most plausible to the vulgar, was a strong report spread abroad that there were five select persons, so like the Duke of Monmouth, and dressed so alike, that they could scarcely be distinguished one from another; and that they were all bound under a most solemn oath, in case any of them should be taken and put to death, not to discover his being the real Duke of Monmouth. One of these five had the fortune to be taken after the defeat, and was put to death upon Tower Hill, so that the government was tricked by some one who personated the Duke. Accordingly, it was given out, both in print and writing, "that the Duke of Monmouth is not really dead, but only *withdrawn* till the harvest be over, and then his friends shall see him again in a much better condition than ever they did yet."†

The sprightly St. Foix printed at Amsterdam, in 1762, a small pamphlet, to prove that the Duke of Monmouth was the famous man with the "Iron Mask."

* Quarterly Review lxix. Of a Collection of French Memoirs.
† Echard.

Hume having remarked that the Duke's party flattered themselves that somebody else was executed in his stead, the French writer asserts, with more confidence than authority, that one of his officers, taken after the battle, was his substitute; and that a great lady, having gained certain persons to open his coffin, after viewing his right arm, exclaimed, "'Tis not he!" Some other vague reports, with the tradition of Provence, that the person confined at St. Marguerite was a Turkish prince named *Macmouth*, a name easily corrupted from Monmouth, are the only authorities for this new system. Hutchins, in a note to his "History of Dorset," refers to this subject. I have recently discovered in the archives of the corporation an entry which proves the existence at Lyme of the same opinion, that the Duke had not suffered, and the belief as to the particulars of the execution, at which another individual was supposed to have been substituted.

In "A Register Booke of Misdemeanors and Punishments in the Maioralitie" of Andrew Tucker, in the presence of the mayor and Gregory Alford, the mayor who rode to the Duke of Albemarle when Monmouth landed, — "John Bragg confessed, 'that on the 17th February last, 1686, he said to Mr. Solomon Andrew (one of the Lyme corporation) that Monmouth was no more dead than he was; and that we should see other manner of doings here (a change, perhaps, less persecution and those in power put down). And this examinate further saith, that he did say to Mr. Andrew upon some discourse about the beheading of Monmouth, *Yes, an old man with a beard in his place.*' For these words Bragg was held to bail, himself in 100*l.*, and two sureties in 50*l.* each."

William Lancaster, of Bridport, prayed for the Duke

of Monmouth, as being alive, when at the place of execution.

In a poem published by G. Aubrey, a bookseller of Bridgwater, in 1828, entitled "Monmouth," the Duke is supposed to have been preserved.

The reader who is well versed in the history of the age now under consideration, and has learnt to appreciate the spirit and genius for plots of all kinds, must have been struck at the fine opportunity that offered any impostor to set up during this period of expectation. A counterfeit Duke of Monmouth, upon his appearance at Bradford, in Wiltshire, was apprehended. Lord Weymouth writes from Longleate, to Sir R. Southwell, November 6. 1686, that the counterfeit had confessed, upon examination, that he was a Papist, and had been so originally. No further particulars can be learnt respecting this man.*

St. Foix set up the claims of the Duke of Monmouth to be the man with the iron mask. Others supposed that character to be the Count de Vernandois, son of Madame de la Vallière and Louis XIV. Some thought he was an illegitimate son of Anne of Austria, and consequently brother to Louis XIV. Others opined for the Duke de Beaufort, and Fouquet, minister of finance to the dissolute monarch who signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.† This difficult matter has been cleared up by the researches of a distinguished nobleman of this country.

Much interest has been excited throughout Europe respecting the state prisoner commonly called "The Man with the Iron Mask." This was not in reality a mask of iron, but of black velvet, strengthened with whalebone, and fastened behind with a padlock.

* MS. on sale by Mr. Thorpe, bookseller, London.
† See Swinburne's Courts of Europe.

Lord Dover, in his work*, has shown that this person was Count Matthioli, a native of Bologna, of ancient family, distinguished in the law, and secretary of state to the Duke of Mantua.

In 1677 the Abbé d'Estrades, ambassador from France to the Republic of Venice, conceived the idea of inducing the Duke of Mantua to allow of the introduction of a French garrison into Casale, a strongly fortified town, the capital of the Montferrat, and in a great measure the key of Italy. In combating the Spanish interest for that of France, Matthioli was treacherous at last to the latter country, and betrayed information to the President Turki, minister of the Duchess of Savoy, then in the interest of Spain. Though actually the plenipotentiary of the Duke of Mantua, as a punishment, Matthioli was enticed to the vicinity of Pignerol, and there seized, and, contrary to the law of nations, confined by Louis XIV. He died 19th November 1698, aged sixty-three, after a cruel confinement of twenty-four years.

The expeditions of Perkin Warbeck and the Duke of Monmouth furnish a striking parallel. Both landed in the West when men's minds were particularly disaffected. Perkin Warbeck is reasonably believed to have been the natural son of Edward IV. Like the Duke of Monmouth, he married a noble Scotchwoman, Lady Gordon, the daughter of the Earl of Huntley. He landed in Whitsand bay, Cornwall, in the beginning of September, 1497, with four small barks, and about 120 or 140 men. He marched to Bodmin, and thence to Exeter, being joined on the way by many disaffected

* The true history of the state prisoner, commonly called the man with the iron mask, extracted from documents in the French archives, by the Honourable Agar Ellis, Lord Dover, 1826.

persons. When he appeared before the walls of the metropolis of the West his force was estimated at ten thousand men. Without artillery or engines proper for a siege, Exeter was to Warbeck what Bristol proved to Monmouth. The failure disheartened the pusillanimous and wavering, who withdrew, leaving only the brave to march to Taunton. Here his progress was checked by a numerous and well-appointed royal army. The half-naked Cornish neither fled nor spoke of retreat; and Warbeck rode along their lines and made disposition for a battle on the morrow. No sooner were the shades of evening set in than Warbeck, who was deficient in courage, mounted a swift horse, and, without taking leave of his army, fled like Monmouth, with sixty horsemen, towards the New Forest, and reached the sanctuary of Beaulieu. Henry VII. would not admit Perkin to his presence; but his curiosity induced him to take a secret view from behind a screen. Henry, like James, made a progress into the West after the rebellion was suppressed. In the winter Henry was at Exeter, where several trees in St. Peter's, close between the north entrance of the cathedral and the treasury, were cut down, that the King, "standing in the new window of Mr. Treasurer's house," might see the rebels, who came bareheaded, with ropes about their necks, to ask for mercy and pardon. Henry addressed them in a short speech, and granted them his clemency; upon which they made a great shout, hurled away their halters, and cried, "God save the King." Those who had money or property were treated with great severity, as to fines by commissioners, among whom was Sir Amias Poulett, ancestor of the present Earl Poulett.*

* See Pictorial History of England, with quotation from Hall, Town Archives of Exeter, communicated by the Rev. George Oliver, letters published by Sir H. Ellis.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A. D. 1685.

Sedgemoor after the battle. — Various scenes of flight, &c. — Men hanged in gemmaces. — Feversham with Kirke enters Bridgwater. — Reign of Terror. — Discrepancies of historians. — Feversham proceeds with executions. — A bishop remonstrates. — Who was this bishop? — Followers entirely dispersed. — Eloquent language respecting the misery of the time. — News of the victory causes rejoicings. — Solemn thanksgiving ordered for July 26. — Louis XIV. congratulates James II. — — Feversham ordered to march to the metropolis. — Colonel Kirke is to remain at Bridgwater. — Kirke is sent to Taunton. — His entry with wounded prisoners for execution. — Common errors respecting Kirke's cruelties and executions. — Memoir of Kirke. — Particulars of the execution at Taunton by Kirke. — Men hanged with the usual forms. — Boiling quarters in pitch. — Kirke inquires what he is to do with the rebels. — Sells pardons. — The King is informed that rebels are at large by Kirke's order. — He is directed to secure them. — Jeffreys receives Kirke ill at Windsor. — Thomas Pitts, gent., writer of the "New Martyrology." — Story of Kirke in Promfret's poem of "Cruelty and Lust" incorrect. — Various anecdotes of Kirke and the time.

LEAVING the scene of action in the metropolis, rendered mournful by the execution of the head of the rebellion so recently put down, let us speed to the west of England, and appear on the field of Sedgemoor just as the conflict was ended.

The wretched followers of the Duke of Monmouth were flying in all directions. Some few hundreds entered Bridgwater only to recommence their flight shortly after, three troops of horse with them, who were unwilling to own to the inhabitants what a terrible discomfiture they had sustained. About five hundred prisoners were con-

fined in Weston church, of which some died of their wounds, while the men of Lord Feversham's army were carousing over hogsheads of cider sent them, as victors, by the neighbouring farmers.

The commander-in-chief ordered twenty-two of the prisoners to be hanged up at once after the battle, four of them in *gemmaces, i. e.* chains, from the branches of a large tree at Bussex, in the absence of gibbets. One of these wretched men was the noted runner, whose speed equalled that of a horse from Bussex rhine to Brinsfield Bridge. Notwithstanding his success, which by the terms of the agreement should have procured a pardon from the general who witnessed the race, the poor fellow, after having furnished such unusual entertainment to the victors, was defrauded of his life.

The Earl of Feversham, with five hundred foot, and a party of horse and dragoons, marched into Bridgwater the same morning. These forces were commanded by Colonel Kirke, an odious name, and were the "Lambs," whose career will be described. The executions that followed the battle commenced the *Reign of Terror,* of which there is no connected account. Hence the discrepancies that obtain in the notices of historians. The more remarkable executions of twenty-two and twenty individuals have been confounded. There was a prisoner, Captain Adlam, hung in chains, with others, the day after the battle: he it was who invited the Duke to enter Wiltshire, where a party of horse would join him. Whatever number of prisoners were hanged upon the entry of the King's troops into Bridgwater in order to strike terror into the rebellious portion of the inhabitants, the act was Lord Feversham's, as the commander-in-chief. There was soon a range of gibbets to a consider-

able length between Weston and Bridgwater.* There are no means of ascertaining the numbers that were thus put to death by the Earl of Feversham. He was still proceeding with these executions, when a bishop warned him that in this country, after the heat of battle was over, these unhappy rebels, "poor rogues," as he called them, were entitled to a trial, and that their execution without the forms of law would be deemed a real murder. Feversham, a Frenchman, and a soldier of the age of the great Louis, had not been taught the value and importance attached in this country to the life of every human being. What bishop is entitled to the blessings of the West for having arrested by his remonstrance this carnage that threatened to be interminable? Bishop Ken and Bishop Mews have both of them the merit assigned them. Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, had accompanied the Earl of Feversham, and personally laboured at the guns during the battle: Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, had not been bred a soldier, like Mews, his predecessor in the see; and it nowhere appears that he was present till after the victory was gained. Wells was not more than twenty miles distant from Bridgwater. A desire to be useful to the victims of civil war, as well as curiosity, may have speedily occasioned this bishop's presence, for all knew what a blessing he proved, sparing neither expense nor pains in soothing the truly wretched state of the accumulating prisoners in Wells, daily relieving some hundreds, and daily praying with them in person.† A recent historian‡

* A cooper, named Thomas, made the gallows on the Cornhill, Bridgwater, by Kirke's order, and was himself executed on the same. This is the tradition.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken.

‡ Sir W. Scott. Notes upon Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel."

inclines to the claims of Bishop Mews, who appears to have been as good a lawyer as a soldier in his last campaign. May some undiscovered diary enable us to decide this point, which we leave undetermined, as one on which the bishop's own biographer maintains silence.*

The militia and the civil power were now scouring the country, and throwing into prison those who had implicated themselves in the rebellion, even in the remotest degree. The actual followers of Monmouth had dispersed, so that one hundred of them were not to be found anywhere.† The generation of old persons who died off at the beginning of this century were full of the hairbreadth escapes, the visits of the soldiers, and the horrors of this time. Every soul was sunk in anguish and terror, sighing by day and by night for deliverance, but shut out of all hope by despair.‡ A hasty appeal to arms had been unsuccessful: such a step would necessarily draw down vengeance upon the guilty. The writer of the Axminster "Church-book" of the Independent Chapel thus sets forth the bitter evils of the time: —

"Now did the rage of the adversary increase, and, like a flood, swell to a great height, insomuch that many poor creatures, yea, many of the Lord's own professing people, were constrained to hide themselves in woods, and corners where they could find places for shelter from the fury of the adversary, divers being taken captive, some shut up in prison-houses, others hanged up immediately by the hands of the enemy. Ah, how did the Lord by this amazing providence correct the vain confidence, creature-dependence, and trusting in an arm

* Rev. S. H. Cassan's Lives of Bishops of Bath and Wells.

† MS. Letter from Lord Clarendon to Lord Abingdon, July 7., late Lord Berwick's sale.

‡ Oldmixon.

of flesh, which was the great sin of the nation in this day!"

The news of Monmouth's capture was received with great rejoicings at Bristol, July 8. The stables of the White Lion in Broad Street were all set on fire, and two of the Duke of Beaufort's best saddle-horses were burnt to death.* Two days after this a rumour was spread that the King was dead, and that Monmouth was proclaimed King in London. Many were taken up for this.†

His Majesty issued a proclamation, July 12., for a solemn and public thanksgiving on July 26. throughout the kingdom, for his late victories over the rebels.† The day of thanksgiving was that on which the King of France directed his ambassador Barillon to offer his congratulations:—

"You will express to the King of England my share in the pleasure he enjoys at having entirely dissipated by his own strength all that could disturb his reign, and established at the same time his revenue and authority upon a higher pinnacle than any of his predecessors has carried these.

"I feel assured that the King will be sufficiently led by his gratitude to Divine Providence for the happy success just vouchsafed him to re-establish in his kingdom the exercise of the *true religion* which we profess; and you are likewise to forward these good intentions with mildness and address at every opportunity."

The Earl of Feversham was ordered, in a letter from Whitehall, dated 9th July, to return to the metropolis with the horse and foot guards, and to dispose of the rest of his forces as he should judge most convenient,

* MS. Calendar quoted by Seyer. † London Gazette.

leaving what horse, foot, or dragoons may be requisite with Colonel Kirke at Bridgwater or Taunton. The artillery that had been brought from Portsmouth was to be returned. Some of the prisoners were to be sent up to London.* Before Lord Feversham could have received this order he sent Colonel Kirke to Taunton with two cart-loads of wounded men, and a number of prisoners. The entry of this officer with his forces into Taunton was a dreadful sight to the thousands who had greeted Monmouth, and a presage of the reign of terror which was now to commence. Green boughs, and the emblems of prosperity to grace processions, in which the parties were intoxicated with pleasure and hope, now were to give place to executions under martial law, conducted in a manner that will have to be described.

As all the horrors of this frightful period are connected with Colonel Kirke's command, some mention must be made of this officer. Bad he undoubtedly was: but posterity has acted towards him much as it has done to Machiaveli. Executions done where Lord Feversham commanded have been laid to his charge;—the form and manner of conducting these have been adduced, as if this officer had really suggested some new and more horrible methods: whereas the usual executioner followed the plan that obtained at this day;—his enormous "Cruelty and Lust" have been celebrated by Pomfret, in a poem under that precise title. The facts, though the subject of poetry, and that have furnished matter to engravers, were long doubted, and have been long since quite disproved: his soldiers, instead of being ironically called "Lambs" for their

* State Paper Office. Inland Letters relating to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, from June 13. 1685, to July 21. No. 1.

barbarous conduct and cruel execution of their commander's orders, were called "Kirke's Lambs" long before they marched into the west of England, from the device of a *lamb* borne upon the colours of the fourth regiment of foot, called the Tangier regiment.

Little is known of Piercy Kirke's early career. He appears to have been a soldier of fortune, and a man drunk (besides his wine) with a long run of disorderly and bullying success. He had no shame, says a writer, to limit his will; and no imagination to conceive the feelings of others, except as giving it pungency.* James knew of Kirke's infamous conduct as Governor of Tangier, from the narratives of Pepys.

Among other remarkable instances of Kirke's conduct is related, his debts, amounting to 1500*l.*, to the inhabitants of Tangier; — how he contrived 900 false musters in 2700 men; — his banishment of the Jews, without, or rather contrary to, express orders from England, because of their denying him, or standing in the way of his private profits; — that he received money on both sides in cases of difference in law: and when the recorder told him such and such a thing was not according to the law of England, he said openly in court, "But it was then according to the law of Tangier;" — how he made a poor Jew and his wife, that fled from the Inquisition, be carried back to Spain, swearing they should be burned; and they were carried into the *Inquisition and burned!!!*

After these accounts, are we to be surprised at Kirke's making Taunton and Bridgwater a harvest-field? His conduct at Tangier had been reported to the colonists of the other hemisphere, and had impressed them with

* Edinburgh Review. Life of S. Pepys.

such an unfavourable opinion, that, when he was expected about this time in New England as Governor, many hundreds of families removed to the foreign plantations. Charles II. had promised Kirke the post. Edward Randolph, Esq., of the Plantation office, Collector of the revenue in New England, and eventually Governor, writes of the report of Kirke's being sent out. Terrified at his conduct in the West, he augurs that, though always unfit, he will now be more arbitrary and oppressing than ever; and he affirms that he would rather have 100*l.* a year in New England, under a quiet prudent general, than 500*l.* if Kirke were upon the place.

Colonel Kirke, as before stated, was sent on to Taunton on July 9. to strike terror into the inhabitants of that now truly-wretched town. The executions that took place in the afternoon, after the arrival of the Tangier battalion, have furnished materials for various accounts of the deliberate putting to death of rebels at Taunton without trial; and even to grace a banquet given by Colonel Kirke, that, at each health to the King, the Queen, and Judge Jeffreys (who it was conjectured would come down to try the rebels), *ten victims* might be turned off!

Twenty prisoners were brought to be executed. We find the number that suffered was nineteen. As the relations of one poor prisoner were bent upon saving him, they considered the form and manner that should be adopted on such a critical occasion. There existed a notion at Taunton, that a "woman in white" should publicly beg the life of a condemned person. Adopting this opinion, they procured Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe*, a

* This lady acted in imitation of the Vestal virgins, who had the privilege of begging the life of any criminal they met on the road to the place of execution.

lady of great and most amiable character, and for which she was deservedly famous all over the West, to go to Colonel Kirke, who was on a balcony with his officers to see the executions. The criminals were on the cart, and already tied up to the gallows, when Mrs. Rowe preferred her request. Kirke immediately turned to one Bush, a lieutenant, who stood by him, a man remarkable for being the most stupid fellow in the regiment, and said, in his short bluff way, "Go, and bid the executioner cut him from the gallows;" taking it for granted that Bush, who stood close to him, heard whom Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe had begged off. But he was mistaken; for that stupid fellow Bush not only had not attended to the name of the person Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe had interceded for, but even did not think to ask it, but went to the executioner, and said, "You must cut him down." The executioner replied, "Cut him down! which *him?* for there are twenty." Now it happened, that the man who had been begged off, being engaged with his prayers, had not attended to any thing that had passed, so took no notice of what Bush said; but another of the criminals, who was minding something else besides his prayers, seeing a lady in white in the balcony with the general, and hearing a talk of cutting down, smelt out the thing, and told Bush that he was the person the lady had begged off. Bush wisely took his word; and, turning to the executioner, said, "This is the man." Upon this, the executioner cut the rope; and immediately the man jumped out of the cart and ran away: soon after, the signal was given for the cart to drive away, and the man who was really begged off was hanged; the truth being found out too late.

From some descriptions of the executions, we might

suppose that Kirke prescribed, or even invented, the horrible form adopted; whereas the whole was conducted by the Exeter executioner, S—— of St. Thomas's parish (none being to be procured in Somersetshire), in strict accordance with the established usages at the execution of the victims of the law by the direction of the judges of the land. The following description of Kirke's conduct will serve to introduce some explanatory remarks: —

"While the executioner was performing the mournful duties of his office, Kirke, with his characteristic barbarity, commanded the fifes to play, the trumpets to sound, and the drums to beat, that the music might drown the cries of the dying victims, and the lamentations of their relatives and the populace. The mangled bodies of these unfortunate men were, by his order, immediately stripped, their breasts cleft asunder, and their hearts, while warm, separately thrown into a large fire; and, as each was cast in, a great shout was raised, the executioner saying, 'There goes the heart of a traitor!' When they were burnt, their quarters were boiled in pitch, and hung up at all the cross-ways and public parts of the town and neighbourhood."*

Kirke has the credit of inventing the boiling the quarters in pitch; but this was not first practised at Taunton, as it was done at Bridgwater when Lord Feversham and Colonel Kirke entered on the 6th of July, when one William Napper was impressed from Chedzoy to boil the quarters of the rebels in pitch.† The sentences passed by the judges were conveyed in these words: — "You must every one of you be had back to the place from whence you came, from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution, and there

* Savage's History of Taunton. † Stradling's Chilton Priory.

you must severally be hanged by the necks, every one of you by the neck till you are *almost* dead; and then you must be cut down, your *entrails* must be taken out and *burnt* before your faces; your several heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided into four parts, and those to be disposed of at the pleasure of the King: and the Lord have mercy upon your souls."*

About two days after Kirke's arrival in Taunton he wrote to know what he was to do with the rebels that were in custody, and had not been executed. Lord Sunderland informed him, July 14., that he was to secure them in some prison, or other safe place, in order to their trial at the assize.† Kirke wrote on the 18th; the letter was laid before the King, who was well satisfied with his proceedings. Lord Sunderland, 21st July, wrote this, and the King's desire that he would secure such of the rebels as were already in custody, as well as those which should be hereafter apprehended, in order to their trial at the next assizes for Somerset.† Kirke allowed some of his men to live at free quarters (or be billeted upon the people), an intolerable hardship, which the mayor of Bridgwater complained of to the secretary of state. Bent upon making money, he sold his pretended pardons for 20*l.*, 30*l.*, and 40*l.* each; which enabled many to get to London and Holland.‡ He wrote, July 22., to ask for a pardon for three persons. Lord Sunderland, 25th, wrote back, "that his Majesty does not think fit to do any thing of that kind: all such as they shall be tried before my Lord Chief Justice and other the judges appointed to go the Western circuit; after which I doubt not but, upon your

* Howell's State Trials.

† State Paper Office. Inland Letters relating to the Rebellion, ii. 260.

‡ Oldmixon.

application, his Majesty will be ready to gratify you in any reasonable request of this nature, wherein I shall be very glad to give you my best assistance."*

The King's friends in Somersetshire had great occasion to observe the effects of Colonel Kirke's money-making, and to be dissatisfied with it. Complaints were laid before the King in consequence. Sunderland, 28th July, wrote to Colonel Kirke that the King was informed that several persons who had been in the late rebellion were at liberty by his order, or at least permission, under pretence of having obtained His Majesty's pardon; and that free quarters for the soldiers are imposed upon the country. The King commanded Lord Sunderland to signify to Colonel Kirke his dislike of these proceedings, and to tell him that he would have him take care that no person who was concerned in the rebellion, or any ways abetted the same, be at liberty, but that he be secured according to the Colonel's former directions.†

However unworthy the motives were, true it is that Kirke saved many. Burnet had heard the extraordinary rumours of his cruelties, which, as he believed, he set down as both illegal and inhuman, and mentions that Kirke was only chid for his conduct. Kirke was chid for his pardon-granting.

Randolph writes in a letter of the "severe welcome my Lord Jeffreys did give Kirke at Windsor; who told him he had not only a bare report, but informations under His Majesty's justices of the peace, upon the oaths of sufficient and loyal witnesses, that he had done more than he could answer for."‡

* State Paper Office. Inland Letters, &c. ii. 266.
† Ibid., ii. 270.
‡ Randolph's Letter, Aug. 29.

There is an entire absence of diaries and connected accounts of the events of this period. The brief notices of remarkable events do not agree when attentively considered. The loyal party, with infinite credit, employed no pen to chronicle the dreadful inflictions upon their enemies; others were overwhelmed with the deepest woe. "Thomas Pitts, gent.," was the fictitious name assumed by John Tutchin, the real author of the New Martyrology. A furious partisan, and an inmate of a prison at the time, might find some allowance for his incorrectness and exaggerations; but his statements have been copied into histories, and have obtained a credit that does not intrinsically belong to them. Did two several executions, one of nineteen the other of thirty individuals, take place while Kirke commanded at Taunton?

Burnet assigns the cruel looking-on of Kirke and his company to the execution on the 9th of July, when healths were drank as each prisoner was turned off; and it was said, upon observing that the legs of the victims of martial law moved, that they should have music to their dancing. A captain was hanged, and the rope broke, whereby the prisoner hoped to have saved his life; but they took from a market horse a ring-rope and hanged him again. The "New Martyrology" refers the same conduct to the execution of the 9th of July, when one man was hanged on the White Hart sign-post three times, to try if he would own he had done amiss; but he affirmed that if it was to do again he would engage in the same cause; so Kirke would have him hanged in chains, and his body remained hanging till William III. came.

Among the papers of the late Dr. Smollett the historian was found a letter from a Mr. John Merrill, dated

12th March, 1759. The object was to refute a vile and horrible story, falsely told of General Kirke, which the writer traces from Pomfret's poem of "Cruelty and Lust" into histories, memoirs, &c. Mr. Merrill states that Kirke had orders to take out of the gaols twenty rebels, and have them executed by martial law. The place chosen was Taunton, on a market-day.*

Dr. Toulmin, the historian of Taunton, early discovered that the story of the cruel treatment of a young woman by Colonel Kirke was of doubtful credibility. This pitiful and affecting tale of her passing the night with this officer to save her brother, whose body appeared at day-break hanging from the sign-post of the inn, where her infamy was procured upon a promise of life, is a fabrication. There exist many types of this story, one in Shakspeare's "Measure for Measure," in No. 491 of the Spectator, and in Roman History.

Colonel Kirke's ordinary behaviour was exceedingly passionate; and when his regiment was out on a field-day he would curse, swear, and threaten in the most outrageous manner. This behaviour was habitual to him, though it seldom went beyond words. The reign of terror began and continued at Taunton under Colonel Kirke. Before the trials took place the most exaggerated statements were circulated by spreaders of news, whose communications rose in value in proportion to their horror. James II. was in course of years of opinion that he had been "hugely injured" by Colonel Kirke; and his biographer makes him express a belief that, even at this time, the Colonel meditated desertion, and desired to draw odium upon the King by his severities. Many writers speak as if by agreement of the

* See History of Taunton, Savage's edition, p. 546.

cruelties; but they betray their incorrectness in confusing the many fabrications in an extraordinary manner.

Oldmixon, years after the desertion of James II., published an anecdote of Kirke's parting with Mr. Harvey, of the Castle in Bridgwater, who had been very civil to him. When the colonel shook him by the hand he is reported to have expressed his belief that it would not be long before he should see him again; and the historian adds, that by his *motions* he gave the other to understand it would not be on the same side! This was taken as conclusive that Kirke was apprehensive James would make an ill use of his victory.

Colonel Foulkes, who commanded one of Monmouth's regiments, and afterwards a regiment under William III., and served with Kirke, is said to have upbraided him with his cruelties, who declared he did nothing but by an express order from the King, and his general Lord Feversham; and protested that his commission went farther, and that he had put a restraint on the power and the instructions which were given him.* Kirke was tampered with in the reign of James to embrace popery: he replied, "that he was already pre-engaged, having promised the emperor of Morocco, when in Tangier, that if ever he changed his religion he would turn Mahometan."

Colonel Kirke was arrested at Warminster for having delayed marching twelve hours after he was ordered. He raised the famous siege of Londonderry, for which service the inhabitants of Taunton devoted an evening to the drinking his health in public, the expenses of which may be now seen in an old church-book.† This fact alone is not conclusive against Kirke's cruelty; for

* Oldmixon.

† History of Taunton, 543.

nothing is more fluctuating than popular resentment or applause, and present joy obliterates, for a time, the remembrance of past injuries. Modern renegades have found applause, and complete oblivion of their notorious faults, among their new friends, though not in the very towns where they put men to death from mere caprice. Had they done so, there must, we think, have been some outbreak to disturb any popular celebration in their favour.

Should any readers imagine that the refuting such great calumnies that have obtained against Kirke has so much lessened the horrors assigned to the time that the reign of terror is scarcely applicable to this period, we beg them to disabuse their minds on this point. The executions the towns of Bridgwater and Taunton had seen were only a foretaste of the terrible fruits of rebellion the West had to gather: a special commission was to be issued; the civil power was actively engaged in arresting those whom late informations had implicated; the military held the country as their own; and the conduct of the standing army, which will be described, was productive of intolerable misery. Officers and soldiers lived as if in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be disaffected to the King with great rudeness and violence. Add to this that thousands were conscious of their guilt; and by what a thread their safety hung! — they passed months in the greatest fear, and many hundreds lived in copses, linhays, and thick trees, and were fed by the dairy-maids, who carried their food in their milk-pails. The cup of misery was overflowing. May the Almighty ever avert from the West all councils that lead to rash rebellion, by which the attendant evils will be avoided!

Probably Kirke's presence at Windsor, where Jeffreys

reproved him for his conduct, whether this was cruelty or pardon-granting, was owing to his preparations to attend the chief justice into the West. To complete the reign of terror Colonel Trelawney's command, who succeeded Kirke Sept. 1.*, should be added. The report of the execution of three persons by this officer we disbelieve. The historians of Taunton know of no such cruelty and bloodshed.

It would not be candid to conceal that Edmund Waller, the poet, attacked the cruelty of the military chiefs: he did so emboldened by his great age and high reputation. This has been judged to be the brightest part of his long and checkered public life. The aged poet only knew what rumour brought him from the West. He did not venture to arraign the still more odious cruelty, which rumour did not much exaggerate, of the chief justice.

* Pictorial History of England.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BLOODY ASSIZE.

A special commission issued. — Jeffreys a judge and general. — Names of judges. — Jury of the West against Jeffreys. — His character. — The "Bloody Assize" commences at Winchester. — Trial of Lady Lisle. — Respite. — Execution. — Remarks. — Assize at Salisbury. — At Dorchester. — Prisoners cajoled. — Major Holmes's case. — Some guilty who have been proclaimed innocent. — Trials. — Bragge, Marder, Battiscombe, &c. — Executions at Lyme. — Death of Mr. William Hewling. — He is carried to his grave by young women. — Comparison with the burial of Frauenlob, the minstrel. — Tomb and epitaph. — Whipping of Wiseman, a boy. — Thomas Pitts, gent., his real name, &c.

In the latter part of August, when the prisons of the western counties were crowded to suffocation during the hottest portion of the year, and the sufferers had become a nuisance to each other, and corrupted the very air they breathed, so that life itself grew a burden, and death was invoked as a deliverer, the judges set out upon the bloody circuit, that is now to be described. The rebellion had prevented the usual summer assize; it furnished subjects for a special commission issued by the Crown. Five judges went forth as commissioners of oyer and terminer, and gaol-delivery; but at the head of these was placed the scourge of the West, Judge Jeffreys, now a Lord, who, in addition to his rank as Chief Justice, had, by a second commission, the authority of general. He daily, as Lieutenant-General, gave the word and orders for going the rounds, &c.; and had a large party of soldiers to attend him. The delay in proceeding with the trials

was occasioned by Judge Jeffreys being at Tunbridge Wells.

The judges' names were George Lord Jeffreys, Lord Chief Justice of England; the Honourable William Montague, Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer; Sir Creswell Levinz, Knight, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; Sir Francis Wythens, one of the Justices of the Court of Queen's Bench; and Sir Robert Wright, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

The people of the West do not know of any judge but the terrible Lord Chief Justice; and this is not surprising, for the other four were mere ciphers, and lent themselves to their leader on every occasion. They escaped odium, as they equally came short of distinction. Nothing has been said or written respecting their discharge of the duties on this circuit.

William Montague, Esq. was of known uprightness of character, and was afterwards turned out for resisting James's attempted power of dispensation.

Sir Francis Wythens is spoken lightly of. He was called before the House of Commons for his courtly opposition to petitioning, when he cringed, and sneaked, and said he knew he had done wrong, but feared to offend the King. North says that even his own friends voted with the country party against him, and so he was unanimously kicked out of the House.

Sir Robert Wright was afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench at the trial of the seven bishops. He was one of the true butcher-birds, and was the man who promised to hang the poor soldier for deserting his colours upon Hounslow Heath if he were promoted, which was done by moving Sir Edward Herbert, and

the promise was performed.* Of Sir Creswell Levinz little is said.

The appearance, however, of Mr. Henry Pollexfen, of Kitley, near Plympton, as Judge Advocate, has been noticed as singular. He had been deep in the confidence of the country party; or, according to North, "in all the desperate designs against the Crown." Merit has been claimed by James II., or his biographer, for having sent this lawyer to temper the violence of Jeffreys, he being a favourer of the Presbyterians. Mr. Pollexfen was made a judge after the revolution.

The name that has been the theme of every tongue is that of Jeffreys, who was now thirty-seven years of age. The facts of his life and conduct have been made familiar to the public by a short life appended to the "New Martyrology, or the Bloody Assizes," and by a temperate volume of memoirs.* The horrid name is associated with the terrors of the time; but the depth of feeling that existed only a few years since is fast wearing out, — indeed of late this is the case in a remarkable degree. Eighty years ago the rage of every west-country person kindled at the name of Jeffreys. The Countess of Pomfret, his grand-daughter, might now traverse the whole of the west of England without receiving any insult on account of her hated ancestor; and the little ale-house woman, whose rage kindled at the name of Jeffreys, would not find another to participate in her excitement.

Jeffreys's behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk or in a rage.† Lord Delamere, afterwards

* Memoirs of the Life of Judge Jeffreys, by H. W. Woolrych, 8vo. Lond. 1827.

† Burnet.

Earl of Warrington, had before spoken of him as one who behaved more like a jack-pudding than with that gravity which beseemed a judge: "he was mighty witty upon the prisoners at the bar; he was very full of his jokes upon people that came to give evidence, not suffering them to declare what they had to say in their own way and method, but would interrupt them, because they behaved themselves with more gravity than he; and, in truth, the people were strangely perplexed when they were to give in their evidence. But I do not insist upon this, nor upon the late hours he kept up and down our city (Chester): it's said he was every night drinking till two o'clock, or beyond that time, and that he went to his chamber drunk; but this I have only by common fame, for I was not in his company. I bless God I am not a man of his principles or behaviour; but in the mornings he appeared with the symptoms of a man that over night had taken a large cup."* Such is the description given of this terrible man. The picture is a revolting one, without being heightened by the raving invectives of the historians of the time, or the teeming abuse of the copying scribes.

The "Bloody Assize" commenced at Winchester, where "Alice Lisle, widow," was indicted for harbouring John Hicks and Nelthorp, rebels. This aged person is commonly called Lady Lisle, being the widow of John Lisle, Esq., one of the regicides, and one of Cromwell's lords, whence the title of lady. Her husband had retired to Lausanne, where he was assassinated by three Irish ruffians in 1664.

Hicks and Nelthorp, both fugitives from Sedgemoor,

* Woolrych's Memoirs of Judge Jeffreys.

entreated an asylum from Lady Lisle, an application which she entertained with great civility, being entirely ignorant whence her guests had come. Hicks had either the candour or the impudence to acquaint her with the truth; on which she instantly despatched her principal servant to a justice of the peace, with information concerning them, but gave especial orders that they might be suffered to escape. At this crisis a party entered, and made the fatal discovery; took both the guests, and Lady Lisle for harbouring them.

Jeffreys was determined to sacrifice this innocent, pious, and charitable lady, now upwards of seventy years of age. Ever a bitter foe to the Dissenters, he was transported with rage, beyond himself, at this trial; for in addition to a prisoner who had been harbouring Dissenters, he had a very reluctant Presbyterian witness to deal with. It would seem, in fact, that this judge had worked himself up to a lunatic pitch of frenzy against Nonconformists, and that he could scarcely be said to command his senses when one of such persuasion was brought before him. And yet, continues his biographer, he displayed his usual knowledge of men's characters by the use of many religious admonitions, and even imprecations of the divine wrath against liars, which greatly tended to alarm the Presbyterian witness, who, in reality, did shuffle in his testimony for the purpose of screening the culprit, but was entirely mastered by the Chief Justice. One part of Jeffreys's conduct at the trial has been strongly reprobated. He told the jury that Nelthorp had privately informed him of the whole conversation which took place between the prisoner Hicks and himself, when they were together at supper; and although it might have been a very flat and just contradiction of the witness, who was

then swearing most outrageously for his mistress, the judge had clearly no right to mention it from the Bench. "I could not mention any such thing as any piece of evidence to influence this case," says the biographer, but the jury must have been shamefully biassed by such a statement, because the Lady Lisle was clearly made out to have been cognizant of the rebellious designs of those she sheltered, by evidence of that conversation.*

The Lady Lisle said, that had she been tried in London, several persons of quality would have testified how strongly she had condemned the rising of Monmouth; that she had shed more tears than any other woman over the fate of King Charles; that she apprehended the object of Hicks's visit to be no more than an anxiety to escape the general warrant against Nonconformists; and that her son was actually in arms against the rebels through her advice.

The good woman, seventy years of age, slept during great part of the charge to the jury; and, beyond doubt, she was well prepared for the scene which was to follow, and well apprised of her judge's outrageous prejudice. But the jury exhibited a feeling which did them some credit. They asked whether the prisoner could be found guilty of concealing a person who had not been convicted of any offence,—for Hicks was not as yet tried. Jeffreys said it made no difference; and this opinion of his was one ground for reversing the judgment after the Revolution. However, the jury were still dissatisfied; they thought that there had been no proof of Lady Lisle's knowledge that Hicks had been in the army. Nothing was more palpable according to the judge's opinion; and at length the death-sealing verdict was

* Woolrych, p. 192.

obtained. "If I had been among you, and she had been my own mother, I should have found her guilty," said the satiated Jeffreys, who now had his victim bound to the horns of the altar; then passed judgment on her, in common with the other criminals who had been capitally convicted at the assizes. Moreover the sheriff was ordered to prepare for her execution on that afternoon; but Jeffreys threw out this hint, "We that are the judges shall stay in town an hour or two. You," addressing himself to the prisoner, "shall have pen, ink, and paper brought you; and if, in the mean time, you employ that pen, ink, and paper, and this hour or two, well (you understand what I mean), it may be you may hear further from us, in a deferring the execution."*

The judge's biographer, whose account has been followed here, understands this as a hint for a discovery of more state prisoners, or for a bribe. Judge Jeffreys knew how Kirke had been making money in the West; and had determined to spare no means of acquiring an estate, which he did not possess, by way of patrimony. The prize-money, after the suppression of the rebellion, was to be made from the victims: to this object all the attention was directed by those who had any substantial claim for services rendered to the King.

Some of the clergy of Winchester procured a respite of a few days for Lady Lisle; and it was vexation, probably, at his pecuniary disappointment, that rendered Jeffreys inexorable against petitions for a final reprieve. Access to the throne was nominally open; and very considerable interest was made at court to preserve so blameless a life. One thousand pounds were offered to

* Woolrych.

Lord Feversham if he should succeed in saving her;—we presume by prevailing upon the King to *give him* the Lady Lisle. This was the mode by which officers and others were rewarded. The prisoner, after sentence had been passed, was given to the individual upon whom it was intended to confer the benefit, and the victim was made to yield as great an amount of profit as could be extorted from him. Lord Feversham went to his Majesty, and begged the life of Lady Lisle; but heard from the mouth of royalty that the King had promised Jeffreys *not to pardon her*. The ladies St. John, and Lady Abergavenny, two Tory peeresses, petitioned for a reprieve; but James declared he would not respite her for one day,—which statement is made by one who was bent upon excusing the whole transaction.* Burnet is violent against the cruelty of the whole affair. Jeffreys had acquainted the King that Lady Lisle's pretensions to loyalty were feigned. His Majesty would show no other favour but that of changing the sentence from burning to beheading. The venerable lady declared, with her dying breath, that the judge omitted to recount her defence to the jury, which, indeed, was but too true. She died with great constancy of mind; and expressed a joy that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety.† James II. lived to learn what a barbarous act this was, and what obloquy it occasioned the royal name to fall under. After the revolution the attainder was reversed, on the ground that the prisoner had been condemned as accessary before the conviction of Hicks the principal, and that the verdict was extorted by the judge.

* The author of the Caveat against the Whigs, quoted by Woolrych.
† Burnet.

A popular writer* gives vent to his indignation in these words: —

"In the proceedings against Faithful, in the Pilgrim's Progress, it is impossible to doubt that Bunyan intended to satirize the mode in which state trials were conducted under Charles II. The licence given to the witnesses for the prosecution, the shameless partiality and ferocious insolence of the judge, the precipitancy and the blind rancour of the jury, remind us of those odious mummeries which, from the Restoration to the Revolution, were merely forms preliminary to hanging, drawing, and quartering. Lord Hategood performs the office of counsel for the prisoners as well as Scroggs himself could have performed it. . . . . The imaginary trial of Faithful, before a jury composed of personified vices, was just and merciful, when compared with the real trial of Alice Lisle before that tribunal where all the vices sat in the person of Jeffreys."

Jeffreys had made Dorchester his head-quarters. He really visited Salisbury upon leaving Winchester: but such had been the loyalty of the county of Wilts, that no political execution took place; only a few rebels were whipped and imprisoned. One account mentions an execution at Sarum, possibly for some other offence.

From the time he first entered Hampshire, Jeffreys had been gleaning prisoners, whom he carried with him like oxen to a general slaughter-house. However horrible the trial may have been which we have described at Winchester, the real terrors of the assize only began to be felt at Dorchester.

Jeffreys opened the commission at Dorchester Thursday, September 3. 1685, a memorable day in the annals

* Historical and Critical Essays, by T. B. Macaulay, i. 422.

of the county, and attended Divine service at St. Mary's church the following morning. When the clergyman, in his sermon, spoke of mercy, Jeffreys was observed to laugh — an omen of coming vengeance. The sermon over, Jeffreys, attended by the flower of the West, the gentry of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, entered the court-hall, which was hung with red cloth — suitable to the tragic business that was to be performed there.

The charge to the grand jury — a vehement and ear-piercing harangue—astonished and alarmed all who heard it, cognizant as they must have been of the judge's character who was addressing them. Not only after "principals" was their most strict inquiry to be bent, but after "aiders and abettors." And who might not have been an "aider or abettor?" demands the judge's biographer.* For the jury had sheltered many of their relations, which made them accessary to high treason after the fact. The court then adjourned until eight the next morning.

The panic-struck jury, moulded, as it were, to the will of the court by the well-timed threats which had been held out, soon found bills of indictment against thirty persons; and in the course of the assizes they implicated more than three hundred in Dorsetshire alone.

The same writer asks the reader if he imagines that it had ever been the intention of Jeffreys to give all his prisoners the benefit of a long and patient hearing? Well did that sagacious lawyer calculate that he might have sat in judgment until the spring assizes, if he had been vexed with the "say" of all these unhappy men! Now began the deliberate wickedness, which was so

* Woolrych.

conspicuous throughout this circuit. Rebels had to be tried: they had offended against the laws; and they merited, if proved guilty, the severest punishment. They had not a fair trial: hence proceeds the universal execration against Jeffreys, who proclaimed "that if any of them there indicted would *relent* from their conspiracies, and plead guilty to the same, they should find him to be a merciful judge."

The thirty persons against whom a true bill had been found, disregarding the judge's threatening, "that in case any did put themselves on trial, and the country found them guilty, they should have but a little time to live," put themselves on their trials. The judge had at the same time insinuated "that it was better to plead guilty, if they expected any favour."

The plan adopted to shorten the business at Dorchester, and to procure a confession, without which not a tenth part could be legally proved guilty, was this*: — Two officers were sent into the gaol to call over and take the names of the prisoners. They bore with them the sister promises of pardon and execution. If the prisoners confessed, they were told they might expect mercy; otherwise not. And as many were induced to accept the proffered mercy, these officers were in a condition to appear as witnesses of their confession (as the law was then administered), in the case of their retracting.†

The first thirty, mistrusting the cruel judge, put themselves upon their trial, and pleaded *not guilty*. This was on Saturday. The same evening Jeffreys signed a warrant to hang thirteen on the Monday following; which was punctually performed. The rest followed

* Life of Jeffreys, in the New Martyrology. † Woolrych.

very soon afterwards, except one Saunders, who was acquitted for want of evidence. The pleading *guilty* by the other prisoners put an end to further trial.

The judge performed his office in a manner that we hope never to see rivalled or imitated. What a sight did the court-house of Dorchester present, when two hundred and ninety-two persons received sentence of death at one and the same time!

Among the number of the condemned was one old soldier, whose case will strongly illustrate the character of the judge, and how recklessly he proceeded.

Major or Colonel Holmes, a fifth-monarchy man, a confidant of Cromwell and trustee for his family, whose conversation with Lord Churchill on the field of Sedgemore has been given in the account of the battle, had been taken to London. The King being desirous to see him, he behaved himself in such a manner as gained esteem from every body. He had lost an arm, and his son, under Monmouth. His carriage was free from dejection, yet full of respect; — he owned his fault, and had recourse to his Majesty's mercy; but told him, that, considering his losses and his age, the favour he asked would be more advantageous to His Majesty's reputation to grant than beneficial to him to receive. The King discoursed with him, and no one was more frequently in the King's antechamber; till it was thought fit to send him down into the West, as one who could best inform the Lord Chief-Justice who was most criminal, and who most deserved mercy; and that he might do some service ere he received his pardon, which was deferred (only for this reason) till after his return. The first news the King had of Colonel Holmes was, that he had been hanged on the first occasion with the rest. His Majesty questioned Jeffreys at his return; but he palli-

ated this and other severities with the pretence of necessary justice! James's biographer makes the King not know how to contradict this, since he had made Jeffreys judge of this matter.* Dalrymple says Jeffreys had Holmes secretly seized in London, and taken into the West. It is singular that the Colonel did not complain of this at his execution.

The hardship of the case of John Lawrence has been often stated; how he came to Monmouth to get off some horses that had been taken from the gentleman whose estate he managed. The fact is, that this Lawrence had come to Lyme to deliver a contribution to the Duke from the Henley family. The man was as guilty as any who were condemned; but the Henley family paid Jeffreys, through one of his agents, 200*l.*, and gave security by bond for 200*l.* more.

> "True it is that
> In the corrupted current of this world
> Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice;
> And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
> Buys out the law." — *Hamlet.*

The "New Martyrology, or Bloody Assize," is a work of no authority. It contains accounts of the death of several who are represented as perfectly innocent. Such is the case of Mr. Matthew Bragge, of Childehay: the seat is now Sadborrow, near Chard. The account given is, that this gentleman, who practised as an attorney, was riding home from a gentleman's house for whom he kept court at the time the Duke of Monmouth's forces were in Chard, and met a party of the Duke's horse going to search the house of a Roman Catholic for arms. He was compelled to go two or three miles to show the

* Clarke's Life of James.

party the way. They searched the house, while Mr. Bragge remained on horseback. He was taken by them into Chard, where he put up his horse at his usual inn. He was much tampered with to engage in the design, but refused. When he wished to return home the next morning, he was told his horse was seized for the Duke's service; upon which he took his cane and gloves, and walked home. After the battle he was obliged to enter into a recognisance to appear at the next assize; and it is said no one judged that he stood in any danger. He surrendered at Dorchester, and was sentenced with the thirty who stood upon their defence. Jeffreys had often said, "If any lawyer or parson came under his inspection, they should not escape." The only favour shown by the judge was that the body should be given to the family for interment at their seat. Mr. Smith, the constable of Chardstock, who had been compelled by a party of the Duke's men to surrender some money belonging to the militia, was hanged upon the same evidence as Mr. Bragge; and, by particular directions from the judge, suffered the first of the party. This prisoner had informed the court that little credit ought to be given to the evidence. Jeffreys thundered at him, saying, "Thou villain! methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck, — thou impudent rebel! to challenge these evidences that are for the King." Mr. John Marder had friends to speak of his readiness to forward the messengers from Lyme, who gave information of the landing. One of them, an injudicious friend, spoke to his being "a good Protestant." "Oh! then," cried Jeffreys, "I'll hold a wager with you he is a Presbyterian: I can smell them forty miles." Alderman Holliday, the father of Richard Holliday, appeared in behalf of his son, claiming the benefit of the

proclamation, as he had surrendered within four days; and offering to be bound for his future good behaviour. The judge told him he knew many aldermen who were villains, and that he hoped to beat some fur out of their gowns before he had done with them.* When John Bennett, of Lyme, was placed at the bar, some persons observed that he received alms of the parish; to which the judge, in a facetious manner, replied, "Do not trouble yourselves; I will ease the parish of that burden."

The victims are not to be considered in the light of ordinary partisans, who hastily joined a leader at beat of drum, and neither knew nor cared for the lawfulness of the undertaking or pretensions of the party whom they adopted. They had many of them for years entertained the greatest apprehension for their religion; they were victims of the agitation of the times, and had become resolute in making a stand whenever a great leader should offer himself. Let the language of Mr. Joseph Speed, of Colyton, exhibit this feeling, as it is a fair specimen of the sentiments of many whose last dying speeches have come down to us: "I had no sinister ends in being concerned; for my only design in taking up arms under the Duke of Monmouth was to fight for the Protestant religion, which my own conscience dictated me to, and which the said Duke declared for; and I had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing, and do not question, that if I have committed any sin in it but that it is pardoned." The last prayers were fair compositions. Some did not forget to pray for "a deliverance for poor England, — let thy Gospel yet flourish

* Locke's Western Rebellion, which is scarcely more than a list of the sufferers.

among them, — hasten the downfal of Antichrist, — we trust the time is come."*

We have elsewhere treated of the incessant reference made to the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance by the clergy of the Church of England. Where the clergy behaved with the greatest kindness they entered upon this inquiry, as they expressed it, "to give them and the world satisfaction of the prepared condition they, the prisoners, were in, in order to their launching into eternity." At Colyton, the vicar, who had behaved very kindly, received this answer from Mr. John Sprague: — "He believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful power: but the case being between Popery and Protestantism altered the matter; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God, in his providence, had thought fit to bring him to the place of execution." Wives and children took leave of many at the gallows, which was a cross piece of wood upon two upright pieces. The prisoners were cast off from a ladder, or a cart. Some gave out a psalm, and read a chapter, besides giving utterance to a prayer. Many, after hearing a fine prayer uttered by another victim, or which struck them, adopted the sentiments, and excused themselves from adding anything more.

Among the number condemned to die at Dorchester must not be forgotten Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, who came over from Holland into the West, in April, to procure information about the prospects that offered for a rebellion in the West, and who had no opportunity of communicating anything before the Duke landed. This gentleman was a member of the Bar, and had

* Colonel Holmes's last prayer. New Martyrology, 440.

refused in London to implicate those with whom he had intercourse upon his coming over. Such implication might have saved his life; but as he refused to betray his friends he was sent down from the Gate-house prison, Westminster, to take his trial. Jeffreys foamed at him. Mr. Battiscomb had before been so ill-fated as to be an inmate of Dorchester Gaol, where the visits of the inhabitants of that town were so frequent that the best company of both sexes was to be found there. Several young ladies went to Jeffreys to beg Mr. Battiscomb's life, whom he repulsed in a brutal manner, and one young lady in language that is too gross to be repeated. A poem exists on a lady, the sister of one of the sheriffs in the West, who came to beg Mr. Battiscomb's life.* Mr. Battiscomb's brother fell under an imputation (whether justly so or not is unknown) of not having saved his brother's life, which he might in some way have done. This preyed so on his mind that his reason gave way, and he hung himself in a fit of insanity.

Samuel Robins, who was called on board the Duke's ship off Lyme, and forcibly detained, was executed. He had a copy of the solemn league and covenant in his house! Dr. Temple, the Duke of Monmouth's surgeon, a native of Nottingham, entered into his service in an expedition intended to seize some of the West India islands, whither he believed they were bound. He knew not otherwise till two days after they had been at sea. He here received his doom.

Mr. Tyler, after singing a hymn, his speech having been interrupted, the matter being objected to, loosening his garments, said to the executioner, "I fear not what man can do unto me; I pray thee do thy work in mercy,

* Woolrych, New Martyrology.

for I forgive thee with all my heart, and I also pray to God to forgive thee: don't mangle my body too much."

The old Baptist minister of Lyme, Sampson Larke, appears in the fatal list. Great interest is felt in the fate of Mr. William Hewling, whose favour with the fair sex at Lyme equalled that excited by his friend, Mr. Battiscomb, at Dorchester. We shall give a brief account of the executions at Lyme, September 12., as an example of the manner in which these mournful matters were conducted.

Colonel Holmes, Mr. Battiscomb, Sampson Larke, Dr. Benjamin Temple, Arthur Matthews, Joseph Tyler, William Cox, Samuel Robins, Josias Ascue, John Marder, John Kidd, and William Hewling, were sentenced to be executed at Lyme Regis, near the very spot where Monmouth landed, about half a mile west of the town. Upon their arrival a sledge was prepared to draw them from the town to the place of execution. The horses that were put to would not stir, which has been received as miraculous. Many horses will not face the waves at the same spot now-a-day. Others were procured, which broke the sledge in pieces — a likely occurrence over a rough beach; and the prisoners had to walk. How different was the scene at the back of the Cobb to that which the landing so recently presented. The Baptists stood round the aged Sampson Larke, once their minister. The spectators were heart-broken. The execution of twelve persons occupied a considerable time, as each had to utter his prayer and make his address. Mr. William Hewling, aged 19, was at a boarding-school in Holland, and came over with the Duke as a lieutenant of foot. He and his brother, who was executed at Taunton, engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, as their own words declared, for the English liberties and

the Protestant religion. After the defeat of the Duke's army they fled and put to sea, but were driven back again, and with great danger got on shore over dangerous rocks, to see the country filled with soldiers. No way of defence or escape remaining, and fearing lest they should be apprehended by the populace, they surrendered themselves prisoners to a neighbouring gentleman, and were sent to Exeter Gaol on the 12th of July. While there they conciliated the affections of all by their engaging behaviour. Mr. W. Hewling was afterwards removed to Dorchester. As he passed through that town for Lyme he excited the pity of an immense concourse of spectators, by his deportment at parting with his interesting and inconsolable sister, who applied to Jeffreys; and an intimate acquaintance of the Hewlings, a relation of the Lord Chief Justice, from whose fortune he had formed expectations, protested that the continuance of their friendship depended entirely upon his using every endeavour to save them. Jeffreys repeatedly protested that he tried, but declared the King was inexorable.

Before the execution he prayed for three quarters of an hour with the greatest fervency. An officer who had called the prisoners devils, while guarding them down, afterwards said he was never so much affected as by his cheerful behaviour and earnest prayer; and that if the Lord Chief Justice had been there he could not have suffered him to die.

He was of a very sweet and obliging temper; somewhat tall, his face fresh and lively as his spirits, being of an extraordinary vivacity and briskness of temper, and met his untimely end before he was twenty.*

* Mr. Kyffin, an eminent merchant of London, the maternal grandfather of this young man, was left to take care of him and his brother by

Hannah Hewling, May 28. 1686, about a year after the execution of her brothers, married Major Henry Cromwell, second son of Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and youngest son of the Protector.

The misfortunes her family experienced from the severity of James II., and zeal for her religious tenets, set her mind against the established form, and led her into some unwarrantable warmth.

How Mr. William Hewling and his brother suffered, owing to an erroneous mode of proceeding, is related by Mr. Kiffin.

It being given out, however, that the King would make only some few that were taken examples, and that the rest he would leave to his officers to compound for their lives, Mr. Kiffin endeavoured, with the mother of the two Hewlings, to treat with a great man, and agreed to give three thousand pounds for their lives. But the face of things was soon altered, so that nothing but severity could be expected. These applicants found they missed the wrong door; for the Lord Chief Justice,

the father. When Hannah Hewling, the sister, presented a petition to the King in behalf of her brothers, she was introduced by Lord Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough); and whilst she was waiting in the antechamber for admittance, his Lordship assured her that she had his hearty wishes of success to her petition. "But, madam," added he, "I dare not flatter you with any such hopes, for the marble is as capable of feeling compassion as the King's heart." James afterwards felt, when in trouble he applied in a fawning manner to Mr. Kyffin, the grandfather, for his assistance in supporting a tottering crown, "Sire," said the affected old gentleman, "I am a very old man, and have withdrawn myself from all kinds of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair to your Majesty; besides, Sire," fixing his eyes stedfastly upon the King, while the tear of anguish trickled down his cheeks, he added, "the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart which is still bleeding, and will never close but in the grave." James was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance. — *Beauties of England, from Noble*, 85.

finding agreements made with *others* and so little to *himself*, was the more provoked to use all manner of cruelty to the poor prisoners. At the trial Jeffreys told Mr. William Hewling that his grandfather, the celebrated Kiffin, did as well deserve that death which he was likely to suffer as he did. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., is the great grandson of William Williams, Esq., recorder of Chester, and speaker of the House of Commons, who married a daughter and co-heiress of Watkin Kiffin, Esq.

The body of this much-admired young man continued hanging, though the sheriff spared the quartering, till the following day, when a ceremony took place, which the authorities connived at, for it certainly met with no interruption at their hands. The horrors of the time had perhaps stupified them, so much greater were they than any thing they had anticipated. The traveller who has paced the great cathedral of Mayence has doubtless been much interested with the tomb erected to the honour of Frauenlob (ladies' praise), the minstrel of that city, a canon of the cathedral, and so great a favourite of the fair sex, whose charms had been his theme, and whose debtors they were. Eight ladies poured libations of wine over his bier, at the same time they bathed it with their tears, and bore it to the grave.

Two hundred persons came to accompany the body of William Hewling, though it was brought away without notice; and several young women, of the best of the town, laid him in his grave in Lyme churchyard, Sept. 13. 1685. The fair ones of Mayence, in honouring the dead, conferred honour upon themselves, and obtained it in the eyes of the assembled multitude; of danger they never dreamed. The young women of

Lyme braved danger from the resident authorities, and from the furious judge who was engaged as it were in depopulating the West. How striking must have been the scene in the south-west corner of Lyme church-yard as the maids of Lyme silently bore to the grave the handsome follower and victim in the cause of their darling Monmouth.

It is possible that a large sum was paid to obtain a remission from the quartering, and to procure Christian burial. The sister paid for Mr. Benjamin Hewling, at Taunton, the enormous sum of one thousand pounds for this object! One of the principal officers of the army interested himself in the matter, and of course largely shared in the benefit. If the body was bought, and an order for the burial sent down to Lyme, the authorities would not have dared to interfere. They knew Jeffreys too well.

A tomb of Ham-hill stone was afterwards erected with the following inscriptions. This being much decayed, the late Rev. Dr. Tucker caused two large slabs to be removed into the porch of Lyme church. One the masons have made away with; the other has been used in the church, where the concluding line, appearing from under a pew in the north aisle, has occasioned its being shown as the grave of a person who was *buried alive.**

"Here lieth the body of William Hewling, son of William Hewling, merchant of London, and grandson to William Kyffin, Esq., alderman of London, who suffered martyrdom before he was full 20 years of age, engaging with the duke of Monmouth for

* Thus is the tradition of Monmouth's history being lost. The sexton of the same church shows some unfinished capitals of the time of Henry VII., or earlier, as left by the workmen who ran away when Monmouth landed.

the Protestant religion, and English liberty, against popery and slavery, September 12th, 1685."

The stone above mentioned, as found under a pew in the north aisle, contains these lines:—

"Brave yovth! could vows have charmed Fate's partial dart,
Death had missed thine, and reached the tyrant's heart;
Thou worthier far to live, whose blooming yovth
By honor gvarded and secvred by trvth,
Gave early hopes, when hast'ning years came on,
To find in thee the perfect, gallant man:
No more we'll thy untimely loss regret,
Jvst was thy cavse, and gloriovs was thy fate.
Thvs Cvrtius, when no other means were fovnd
To make Rome safe, leaped bravely underground;
Scorning his covntry's rvin to survive,
Chose to be bvried in the breach alive."

Besides the numbers who were sentenced to death at Dorchester, Richard Hollyday was to be whipped twice, fined a mark, and procure sureties for good behaviour for a year, for conducting the Lord Grey from Gillingham to Ringwood; Hugh Green to be fined 1000*l.* for publishing Monmouth's Declaration, and to find sureties for life; William Wiseman, a boy of Weymouth, for publishing a seditious libel, to be whipped at Dorchester, and at every market-town in the county; six others were to be fined and whipped for speaking seditious words. Mrs. Ulalia Brown of Lyme, whose whipping at every market-town in Dorsetshire has been so often narrated, and has found so many to dilate upon the cruelty of her punishment for the trifling offence of joking with an exciseman as to "Who was King, now?" does not appear among those who received sentence. Her sufferings are probably one of the many unfounded stories of the day.

Wiseman, an apprentice to a barber of Weymouth, was only fourteen years of age. The people one

morning perceived a copy of the Declaration stuck up: not being able to read it, they bethought themselves of this youth, who had the gift, now so common, but then so rare. The whipping commenced at Dorchester, where the gaoler, pitying the boy's early years, performed his office with as little severity as he could. A clergyman named Blanchard informed the merciful gaoler "that he would do his business for him with the Lord Chief Justice for shamming his sentence in not whipping the boy half enough." The man, exasperated at this interference, said, "You talk of the cruelties of the popish priests, but commend me to a Church of England priest for cruelty; they are like the country justices, who won't believe a man is burnt in the hand unless they can see a hole through it." It is uncertain whether this clergyman really did inform; some one sent to Jeffreys, who had the poor boy whipped again the following morning to such a degree that his life was despaired of. After Jeffreys had proceeded westward, William Wiseman was whipped through the town of Melcombe; and here his sentence terminated.*

Thomas Pitts appears among those sentenced to be fined and whipped. This is no less a person than "Thomas Pitts, gent.," the author of the "New Martyrology, or Bloody Assize," which he pretended to write from actual visits to the places of execution, whereas he was then in gaol. This person's real name was John Tutchin, who was acquitted for want of evidence owing to his appearing under the feigned name of Pitts. Jeffreys soon found out his true name, and "asserted that he was never so far outwitted by a young or old rogue in his life." He then tried to fish out of Mr.

* Ellis's History of Weymouth, p. 120., who quotes no authority.

Tutchin the names of some of his confederates, but failed; upon which he grew furious, and not being able to hang him, issued forth the following sentence: "Imprisonment for seven years, and once a year to be whipped through all the market-towns of Dorsetshire; to be fined one hundred marks, and find security for his good behaviour during life." The ladies in court immediately burst into tears; but Jeffreys called out, "Ladies, if you did but know what a villain this is, as well as I do, you would say that this sentence is not half bad enough for him." The clerk of the arraigns could not help remarking upon the number of towns in Dorset, "that the sentence reached to whipping about once a fortnight, and that Mr. Tutchin was a very young man."—"Aye, he is a very young man, but an old rogue," retorted the invincible judge; "and all the interest in England shan't reverse the sentence I have passed on him." Tutchin was so fully sensible of the discipline intended him, that he actually petitioned the King to be hanged with his fellow prisoners. It seems that the Court felt the enormity of the chastisement proposed; but all that transpired was, "Mr. Tutchin must wait with patience." Then the young man tried to buy a pardon, but in vain; and then came the small-pox, a day or two before his first lashes were to have taken place, and reduced him so low as to occasion a reversal of the sentence by Jeffreys himself. Most probably, writes Mr. Woolrych, as in Rosewell's case, the King had peremptorily commanded the change.*

* Memoirs of Judge Jeffreys, by Woolrych.

Note.—The Rev. Mark Noble, in his Continuation of Granger's Biographical History, vol. ii. p. 311., thus speaks of this gentleman: —

"John Tutchin, Esq., a petulant political writer, promoted the rebellion of Monmouth by his publications. He was every way contemptible;

yet considered himself, at the Revolution, not only a persecuted patriot, but a genius worthy to celebrate and protect the sacred name of liberty; and, not deterred by former sufferings, the political mania continued upon him in great strength. He had printed in his 'Observator' for 1703, certain reflections, which were so obnoxious to the ministry that a proclamation was issued, offering one hundred pounds for apprehending him. Tutchin attempted poetry, as well as prose, and published his 'Poems' in 1685. He besides affected dramatic writing, and, as a specimen published 'The Unfortunate Shepherd;' upon which Granger remarks, that he was not more unfortunate when he was whipped than when he produced this drama, for his genius did not soar higher than was necessary for a woeful ballad. "His 'Foreigners,' published in the reign of William III., produced the 'True-born Englishman;' and his other writings, in that of Queen Anne, contributed to change the ministry. The hangmen did justice on some of his paper-misdeeds in Dublin; and some persons in England, offended by his scurrility, took so severe a personal vengeance on him that he died in consequence, November 23. 1707, aged 44."

Pope has immortalised him in the Dunciad:

> "Careless on high, stood unabash'd De Foe,
> And TUTCHIN, flagrant from the scourge, below."

There is a portrait of Mr. Tutchin, engraved by Vander Gucht.

CHAPTER XXX.

A. D. 1685.

Jeffreys sets out for Exeter. — Alarm upon the road. — Trials at Exeter. —List of known followers at large. — Anecdote of a narrow escape. — Jeffreys corresponds with Sunderland about prisoners, who are to be transported. — Proceeds to Taunton. — Terrible charge to the grand jury. — Hamlyn's case. — Lord Stawell refuses to see Jeffreys. — Jeffreys's revenge. — Hucker's case. — Taunton maids, how they fared. — Are given as a Christmas box to the maids of honour. — Executions at Taunton, September 30. — Price for procuring the interment of Benjamin Hewling. — Soldiers lament the executions. — Fire lighted to burn the bowels. — Jeffreys executes Jenkins, though his life is begged by Sunderland. — Lord Churchill, the judge's messenger. — Assize at Wells. — Mr. Charles Speke's case. — Horrid appearance of the West at this time. — Warrant from the high sheriff to the officers of Bath to prepare what is necessary for executions. — Distribution of quarters at Weymouth. — Persecution of all who assisted at the executions. — Tom Boilman's case. — Jeffreys proceeds to Bristol. — A cruel judge in the West, A.D. 1550. — Charge of Jeffreys at Bristol. — The mayor and others presented for kidnapping.

JEFFREYS, having by his mode of proceeding so speedily despatched the assize at Dorchester, in spite of the amount of business to be done, set out for Exeter about 12th September. On his way to that city the judge stopped to sleep at some honourable gentleman's house, whose name, in accordance with the great paucity of information respecting this part of our subject, is not known. Many of the neighbouring parishioners took this opportunity of presenting petitions to the judge in behalf of their relations, whose case they desired he would compassionate. An untoward incident occurred to frustrate the entertainment of mercy on the part of him who was but too little disposed to incline that way. During the night, owing to some disorder amongst the

judge's servants, which has not been explained, some pistols were fired, which gave him a suspicion of some design on foot against his person. At parting, he declared that "not a man of all those parishes that were of that vicinitude, if found guilty, should escape."

The business commenced at Exeter, 14th September, with the trial of Mr. John Foweracres (or Fouracres) and Robert Drower, who pleaded not guilty. They failed in procuring a verdict in their favour. The judge pronounced sentence upon Foweracres at once, and ordered him to be taken to immediate execution. This produced the desired effect upon the other prisoners: there were no more trials: all pleaded guilty.*

The numbers sentenced on this occasion were twenty-one, of whom one was reprieved; and thirteen only were executed, and their heads and quarters distributed about the country. Thirteen were fined and whipped for speaking seditious words. The prisoners found compassionate friends in Exeter. Many sorts of provisions, as hot broth, boiled meat, roast meat, and divers sorts of pies, were daily sent into the prison; the persons that sent these being unknown to them. If any one was sick, there was a nurse and physician to attend him. A very singular feature in this assize for Devon was the publishing the names of 342 persons, all of whom were at large when the business closed. These comparatively fortunate yeoman had escaped the search of the military and civil power, and were tenants of the open country, living in copses and haystacks as they best could. The last generation of old people were full of anecdotes of wonderful and hair-breadth escapes of their relatives.

* Drower was reprieved.

An interesting anecdote of Richard Cogan, a follower of Monmouth, is related.* He resided at Coaxdon Hall, between Chard and Axminster, upon an estate that had been purchased by his father of Sir Symonds d'Ewes, the celebrated historian. Being a leading man among the Dissenters, and a known friend of liberty, he was strongly suspected of having been with Monmouth, and some scouts were sent in pursuit of him. Having notice of their coming, he retreated to Axminster, and took refuge in the Green Dragon Inn, then the principal one in the town; where, being pursued by the soldiers, the daughter of the landlord, a fine spirited, clear-headed girl, perceiving his dilemma, took him up stairs, and with great promptitude, as well as presence of mind, concealed him between the featherbed and the sacking of the bedstead, adjusting the bedclothes with great order and adroitness. The men entered the room, searched the closets, looked under the bedsteads, and departed. Still persuaded he was in the house, they returned and made a second search; but, owing to the lady's management, with no better success than before. That so remarkable a preservation should excite in the object of it feelings of gratitude and admiration towards his fair deliverer, is not at all surprising; and, ripening by degrees into a more tender passion, when the times became settled, he made her his wife. Her name was Elizabeth Gray, or Grey.

The following list will exhibit the parishes, and the numbers from each that were at large. Individuals, as well as magistrates, grew merciful at such a time of blood.

* By Wilson, in his Memoirs of De Foe, i. 10.

Colyton	76	Membury	18
Axmouth	34	Upottery	31
Combpyne	6	Musbury	9
Luppit	30	Axminster	92
Thorncombe	33	Coombrawleigh	6
Yarcombe	7		
			342 *

Jeffreys had a correspondence with the secretary of state respecting the great mass of prisoners who were receiving sentence of death from him at the assize, though it was not intended they should ultimately suffer. They were a great charge to the counties: small-pox and disease had commenced their ravages among them, as they lay crowded in the ill-arranged prisons then existing. The information from the State Paper Office, and other sources, about the application of parties to get a share of the condemned followers of Monmouth, and their eventual destination, will be laid before the reader in the course of a few pages.

The judge was gratified by an acknowledgment from Lord Sunderland of the receipt of a letter from his Lordship, of the 11th, from Dorchester, with an account of what he had done. His Majesty directed the secretary to inform the judge he approved of all his proceedings, particularly of the respiting of two prisoners (Dare and Malacke?) who accuse Mr. Prideaux, upon reading whose confessions his Majesty has directed Mr. Prideaux to be apprehended. In a postscript "Prideaux is taken, and in the Tower."†

From Exeter the terrible judge proceeded to Taunton, which has figured so conspicuously in the history of that popular leader, whose fall had left 526 persons in

* Harleian MS., 4689.

† State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers, ii. 284.

custody to take their trial in this town alone. The feelings of many thousands of relatives and friends were excited to the highest pitch for those who were in chains, as well as for the multitude who might be implicated in the course of the trials. The judge's charge was full of sharp invectives, as if the country itself had not been able to make expiation to him; and he declared it would not be his fault if he did not depopulate the place.*

Some few only put themselves upon their trial out of so large a number, and, being found guilty, were ordered to be immediately executed. One hundred and forty-four actually suffered of those tried and condemned at Taunton!

The case of Mr. Simon Hamlyn has been deemed a very hard one. He was a Dissenter; and hastened to Taunton, where his son had settled, to advise him not to join the Duke of Monmouth, then in that town. A justice committed him for this visit. A writer has reflected upon Hamlyn's blindness, for not having averted this committal by bribing the justice, who was Bernard Smith, mayor of Taunton. Hamlyn had (like Gatchell, a constable, who had been compelled to bring in provisions to the Duke's army, on pain of having his house burnt) an excellent defence, but unhappily, perhaps, had not the courage to make use of it. These two therefore gave in their pleas, not guilty. The mayor was present; and, in spite of his cruelty, told Jeffreys there certainly was some mistake concerning Hamlyn. The judge said, "You have brought him on: if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." Mr. Woolrych sees revealed in all this, that the magistrates were

* Ralph.

corrupt, and cared little or nothing for justice; and Jeffreys despised the magistracy.*

Lord Stawell, whose active services against the Dissenters and country party have been narrated, was, to his great honour, so much displeased with the severity of Jeffreys that he refused to see him. No member of the House of Commons appears to have complained to the King of the chief justice's cruelty or horrid manner of proceeding. Soon after this rebuke to Jeffreys from Lord Stawell, who resided at Cotheleston, near Taunton, there came out an order for the execution of Colonel Bovet, and another, close to that nobleman's residence.

Sir John Dalrymple refers to the execution of Captain John Hucker, and gives the old version of his having given the alarm to Lord Feversham's army, to revenge himself for having been refused the governorship of Taunton. The prisoner utterly denied and disowned this.

The reader who has felt interested in the presentation of the colours to the Duke of Monmouth by the Taunton maids may be desirous of learning how they fared at such a time as this, when the air was tainted with the smell of the quarters of the leaders of the recent pageant, and of their own relatives. One of the Miss Blakes, the schoolmistress, was committed to Dorchester Gaol, where she died of the small-pox. One of the young maids (some of whom were only from eight to ten years of age) surrendered herself in court, begging mercy from the judge, who, when she was produced before him, looked on her with a very fierce countenance, and, raving, commanded the gaoler to take her. This struck

* In a bundle of papers, at the State Paper Office, an entry appears for Simon Hamlyn to be pardoned. The order did not arrive in time, or Jeffreys perhaps interfered.

such terror into the poor girl, that pulling her hood over her face, she fell a-weeping, and the gaoler removing her immediately out of the court, she died, not many hours after, through fear.* The whole of the Taunton maids were given as a CHRISTMAS-BOX to the maids of honour. The negotiations that ensued will be described: they were long pending; and the fear of a trial at some future assize hung over the heads of the parents of these poor children.

Mr. Benjamin Hewling, Robert Parrot, William Jenkins, Abraham Annesley (well-known names), were among those executed at Taunton, 30th September. Miss Hannah Hewling gave a thousand pounds for the body of her brother, to be spared from being quartered and exposed, and to have it buried in St. Mary Magdalene's church. An officer is said to have shared in this sum. Is not Lord Churchill alluded to? He tried to procure a pardon from Jeffreys without success, and afterwards introduced the sister to the King, who denied her petition, which drew from Lord Churchill the declaration, "that the King's heart was as incapable of feeling compassion as marble." Three thousand pounds were offered for the lives of the two Hewlings. It was generally reported a few days before that no more would suffer. When the sheriff came, void of all pity and civility, he hurried the group of prisoners away, scarcely suffering them to take leave of their friends. After two of the elder persons had prayed, Mr. Benjamin Hewling desired leave of the sheriff to pray *particularly* (*i. e.* individually), but he would not grant it: only asked him if he would pray for the King? He answered, "I pray for all men." He then requested they might sing a psalm.

* Savage's edition of Toulmin's History of Taunton.

The sheriff told them it must be with ropes about their necks; which they cheerfully accepted, and sang with such heavenly joy and sweetness that many present said it both broke and rejoiced their hearts.* This resignation quite won over the opposite party in Taunton, most of whom voluntarily accompanied the bodies to their graves; and the soldiers lamented exceedingly, saying, it was so sad a thing to see them so cut off, they scarce knew how to bear it.* Burnet speaks of the great effect produced upon the spectators. There was a great fire made on the Cornhill, that the nineteen executed at this time might see the fire that was to burn their bowels. The executioner was ankle-deep in blood.

It really appears that Jeffreys delighted in blood. Lord Sunderland had sent to him by Colonel Villiers to ask for favour towards William Jenkins, and had given a short memorandum. The secretary of state again, September 12., from Windsor, asks the judge to show the said William Jenkins what favour he could without prejudice to his Majesty's service.† This prisoner was, notwithstanding, executed.

Jeffreys sent a regular account to the King of his proceedings by a military officer. The messenger from Taunton was no less a person than Lord Churchill.

The carts which conveyed such numbers of prisoners from gaol to gaol, in order that evidence might be procured against them, were at length put in motion for Wells. About five hundred prisoners were there awaiting their trials, gnawed by despair, fear, and disappointment. The good Bishop Ken had shrunk neither from disease nor great expense in solacing the accumulated

* Orme's Memoirs of Kiffin, p. 77.

† State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers, ii. 283.

victims in that city. Little more is known of the assize at Wells than that Jeffreys adopted the same method he had followed in other towns, and affronted the gentlemen of the county by a severe charge, overawed the juries, and terrified them into acting against their judgment. Ninety-seven were put to death by the executioner; five escaped from having been omitted in the warrant; and three hundred and eighty-five were delivered over for the Colonies.

It was at Wells Mr. Charles Speke received sentence of death. He was the youngest son of George Speke, Esq., of White Lackington, and filazer for several western counties — an office which he purchased with three thousand pounds. Having the misfortune to be at Ilminster at the time of the rebellion, he had the still greater misfortune to shake hands with the Duke of Monmouth; and though (unlike his brother John) he did not join the invaders, he was soon after seized on his way to London. There was no want of evidence in those days. Naboth was made a blasphemer because he had a vineyard. The news of his being apprehended reaching the metropolis, Jeffreys — the judge who was to try him — begged his office of the King, not presuming that Judge Jones of the Common Pleas durst presume to assert his right to it in case of conviction. Jeffreys obtained a grant of the office; and there now only remained the form of passing sentence and hanging the victim, which presented no difficulty.

A major of dragoons, who was escorting his lieutenant-general back to town, took the liberty of saying to him that there were two Spekes; that the one left for execution was not the man intended, and that perhaps favour might be shown him. "No, his family owe a life," replied the judge; "he shall die for his namesake."

The mayor of Taunton, Bernard Smith, also interceded for this gentleman; but Jeffreys, bent upon his office, silenced him with the same reply, and a violent motion of the arm. The father and mother had absconded; but Mrs. Mary Speke was after this taken, and indicted for aiding Monmouth.

The execution of Mr. Charles Speke took place in the market-place, Ilminster, from a large tree. He prayed for nearly an hour, and sung a psalm. The most heart-piercing lamentations were uttered by the inhabitants.

Jeffreys's whole progress might be traced by the carnage he left behind him. Every tower and steeple were set round with the heads of traitors. Wherever a road divided a gibbet served for an index; and there was scarcely a hamlet, however obscure, to which one limb at least was not sent, that those who survived might never lose sight of their departed friends, nor the remembrance of their crime or punishments.* The following description of the beautiful west country disfigured by Jeffreys is very striking: "He made all the West an Aceldama; some places quite depopulated, and nothing to be seen in 'em but forsaken walls, unlucky gibbets, and ghostly carcases. The trees were loaden almost as thick with quarters as leaves; the houses and steeples covered as close with heads as at other times frequently in that country with crows or ravens. Nothing could be liker hell than all those parts; nothing so like the Devil as he. Cauldrons hissing, carcases boiling, pitch and tar sparkling and glowing, blood and limbs boiling, and tearing and mangling; and he the great director of all, and, in a word, discharging his place who sent him, the best deserving to be the

* Ralph.

King's late chief justice there, and chancellor after, of any man that breathed since Cain or Judas."*

Lord Lowther writes that the stench was so great that the ways were not to be travelled whilst the horror of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them, lasted; of which Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote a most pathetical letter to his Majesty.†

A copy of a warrant from the high sheriff to the officers of Bath will fully explain the whole form and apparatus required to execute the sentences passed upon the prisoners:—

"Somersetshire. { Edward Hobbes, Esq., Shereiffe of ye Countie

aforesaid, to the Conbles and other his Maties Officers of the Cittie and Burrough of Bath, greeting: Whereas I have recd. a warrt. under the hande and seale of the right Honble. the Lord Jeffreys for the executing of several Rebells within your said Cittie. These are therefore to will and require yow immediately on sight hereof to erect a Gallows in the most publicke place of yor said Cittie to hang the said Trators on, and that yow provide halters to hang them with, a sufficient number of faggots to burne the Bowells of fower Trators, and a furnace or cauldron to boyle their heads and quarters, and salt to boyle therewith, halfe a Bushell to each Traytor, and tarr to tarr ym with, and a sufficient number of speares and poles to fix and place their heads and quarters: and that yow wayne the owners of fower Oxen to be ready with a dray and wayne, and the said fower Oxen, at the time hereafter mentioned for execusion, and yow yorselves, togeather with a guard of fortie able men att the least, to be present on Wednesday morning next by eight of the clock, to be aiding and

* Quoted by Woolrych, 214. † Lord Lonsdale.

assisting to me, or my deputie, to see the said rebells executed.

"Given under my Seal of Office, this 16th day of Novembe*r*, A°. 1°

"JACOBI SECUNDI.
"1685.

"You are also to provide an Axe and a Cleaver for the quartering the said Rebells.*

"EDWARD HOBBES, Vice."

After the executions the sheriff was equally particular as to the distribution of the quarters and heads. At Weymouth, after twelve had suffered on or near the Greenhill, the sheriff directed in his precept the following arrangement:—

	Quarters.	Heads.
Upway	4	1
Sutton Pointz	2	1
Osmington	4	1
Preston	2	—
Weeks	2	—
Winfrith	4	1
Broad Main	2	1
Radipole	2	—
Winterbourn St. Martin	2	—
Puddletown	4	1
Bincomb	2	—
The rest at Weymouth:		
Grand Pier	6	1
Town's End	2	—
Near Windmill	4	1
Town-hall	2	—
On the Bridge	1	2
Melcomb Town-hall	1	2†

* Collinson's History of Somerset.
† History of Weymouth, 347.

Those who were minor assistants in the executions never to the end of their lives recovered their former position. A farmer named Raphael, of Grendon Farm, near Lidgate, in Combpyne Parish, conveyed for sale furze to burn the entrails of the prisoners. He was ever afterwards hailed by an expressive epithet.* He and his horses were spoken of by the old people as having visibly pined away.

If this unfortunate character, or rather the man whom political changes rendered so, and made his not euphonious name unbearable, wasted, like his horses, with atrophy, or other disease, no less did another equally infamous man meet with what was deemed a more signal visitation of the Divine vengeance. Tom Boilman, whose office in the hecatombs at Taunton is sufficiently expressed by his acquired name, was at plough near North Petherton, and took shelter under an oak from a violent thunder-storm. He was struck dead by what all judged — and not surprisingly so — a heaven-directed flash. Anne Farrant, who led to the wretched Duke's capture, and many others who were instrumental in the arrest, and assisted at the execution of the sufferers of this period, ended their lives in misery. "Nothing ever prospered with them," is a general expression of their day. Some explanation may be necessary to avoid the suspicion of being superstitious in advancing such statements. The wretchedness of the parties themselves, and their horses, may be accounted for on natural grounds. These individuals, from a violent adherence to party or to power, persecuted or assisted in the cruel inflictions of human suffering. Soon after a complete change was worked throughout the land. The higher classes viewed affairs in a different light; and the humble *Boil* or *Burn-*

* Burn-guts.

men were left to the vengeance of their neighbours. The hootings of towns, and the hostility of their own parish, the scowl of those who turned from their gaze at the church-hatch on the Sabbath, and the imprecation of some bereaved parent, with the loss of custom, and their friendless, hopeless state, — all are sufficient to account for the altered appearance and real misery of those who lent their hand to persecution. A woman, who in her loyalty said it did her eyes good to see the Rev. Sampson Larke hanging, is said to have become blind soon after.

The executions were not over till the end of November. The Bloody Assize may be said to have been concluded at Wells about the 20th of September, when Jeffreys proceeded to Bristol, in which city six prisoners were convicted and three suffered.* This special commission and presiding judge have both a parallel. In the year 1550 the Cornish rebels, under one of the Arundel family, having been suppressed, a special commission was sent down under Sir A. Kingston, whose freaks of cruelty were truly horrible.† It is no doubt wisely intended that these atrocities should be forgotten in the course of years. It is not now known at Axminster in what part of the town the Duke's gunner, John Ross or Rose, suffered‡; and in other places the impressions of the time are wearing out. If a house is now haunted, it is by a plain matter-of-fact ghost, which (however alarming) comes far behind the horrors of Judge Jeffreys walking in his robes. The fumes of liquor, and the torment arising from the stone, have furnished matter for the bitter imprecations of the West beyond what the ordinary discharge of the duties of a judge needed to

* Woolrych. † Redding's Cornwall.
‡ J. Davidson, Esq. Collection of MSS. relating to Devon.

have brought him under. His inordinate avarice might have been gratified quite as fully without the cruel language and behaviour Jeffreys indulged in. It is true the prisoners, generally speaking, were not such as to encourage a feeling of much compassion for them. They had deliberately taken up arms; and they clung to their principles and religion, which was much mixed up with political freedom. They died by law: it was their misfortune to be tried by an infuriated maniac, or one who had a very inhuman thirst for blood.* The extent of the knowledge the King possessed of Jeffreys's proceedings, or his "campaign," as he used to call it, to the great surprise of Dykfield, the ambassador for the States of Holland, is a matter that does not properly belong to these pages.† The King knew in after-years what odium the avarice and faults of the judge brought upon him.

The charges that were delivered at the county towns of the circuit, terrible as they were, blameable as they have ever been holden, affrontive, brutal, and unfeeling, have perished. The Bristol charge alone remains, which is introduced no less as a specimen of the language of Judge Jeffreys than for its close connection with matter that has to be elucidated. It has, besides these, an historical interest in exhibiting a clear impression, that the corporation of that city had been Monmouth-men at heart, and were only restrained by force from opening their gates.

Lord Jeffreys' Charge at Bristol, 21st September, 1685.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am, by the mercy of God, come to this great and populous city, a city that boasts both of its riches and trade, and may justly indeed claim the next place to

* Woolrych. † See Woolrych's Memoir of Judge Jeffreys.

the great and populous metropolis of this kingdom. Gentlemen, I find here are a great many auditors who are very intent, as if they expected some formal or prepared speech: but assure yourselves, we come not to make neither set speeches, nor formal declamations, nor to follow a couple of puffing trumpeters; for, Lord, we have seen these things twenty times before. No; we come to do the King's business — a King who is so gracious as to use all the means possible to discover the disorders of the nation, and to search out those who, indeed, are the very pest of the kingdom: to this end, and for this purpose, are we come to this city. But I find a special commission is an unusual thing here, and relishes very ill; nay, the very women storm at it, for fear we should take the upper hand of them too; for, by-the-by, gentlemen, I hear it is much in fashion in this city for the women to govern and bear sway: but, gentlemen, I will not stay you with such needless stories, I will only mention some few things that fall within my knowledge; for points or matters of law I shall not trouble you, but only mind you of some things that lately hath happened, and particularly in this city (for I have the kalendar of this city in my pocket): and if I do not express myself in so formal or set a declamation (for, as I told you, I came not to make declamations), or in so smooth language as you may expect, you must attribute it partly to the pain of the stone, under which I labour, and partly to the unevenness of this day's journey.

"Gentlemen, I may say that even some of the youngest amongst us may remember the late *horrid rebellion*, how men under colour of law and pretext of justice, after they had divested a most gracious and most merciful prince of all his royal power by the

power of the sword — they, I say, under colour of law and pretext of justice, (which added the more to the crime, that it was done under colour of such pretended justice,) brought the most mild and meekest prince (next to our ever blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, if we may but compare him to a man,) to die a martyr, — the first blessed martyr, (pardon the expression, besides our most blessed Jesu, who suffered for us on the Cross, — I say, besides that blessed Son of God,) this I say was the first royal martyr; not suffering him to speak for himself, or make his defence — a liberty which is given to the vilest traitor; and this was done (not to descant on the number) by forty-one. The rebels not resting here (for rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft), divested the lineal, legal, and rightful heir of the crown of all his power and prerogative, till the mighty God of heaven and earth, God Almighty, restored him to his just right; and he, as if begot in mercy, not only forgave all offences, and pardoned voluntarily, even all that had been in actual arms against him (excepting those accursed regicides), but also made it a crime for any one that should but remember, or upbraid any of their past crimes and rebellions. Good God! O Jesu! that we should live in such an age, in which such a prince cannot be safe from the seditious contrivances of pardoned rebels. Had we not the Rye conspiracy, wherein they not only designed to have murthered that most blessed (for so now we may conclude him to be with God Almighty) and gracious King, but also his most ever dear and victorious brother? Had we not the Bill of Exclusion, which our most gracious King told us he could not, without a manifest infringement of the royal prerogatives of the crown (which are too sacred for us to touch) consent to? Had we not the cursed counsel

of Achitophel: Kings are God's vicegerents on earth, and are, indeed, gods on earth, and we represent them? Now, when God Almighty had, of his infinite goodness, called this blessed Prince unto himself, he sends a Prince who assures us he will imitate his royal brother and renowned predecessor in all things, especially in that of his clemency and mercy, and that too upon the word of a King; a King, I will assure you, that will not be worse than his word,—nay (pardon the expression), that dare not be worse than his word. Which of you all, that had a father murthered by another, (and that deliberately too, under colour of justice, which added to the crime; and your brother, nay, yourselves, thrust out from your inheritance, and banished from your country, nay, that sought your blood likewise,) would you not, when it was in your power, revenge such injuries, and ruin such persecutors. But here our most blessed Prince, whom God long preserve! hath not only forgiven, but will venture his life for the defence of such his enemies! Has he not ventured his life already, as far as any man, for the honour of these kingdoms? Nay, I challenge this city to show me any one man of it, that perchance may not be worth a groat, that has ventured his life so far for the safety of these kingdoms as this royal Prince hath done. Good God! what an age do we live in! Shall not such a Prince be secure from the sedition, rebellion, and plots of men? He is scarce seated on his royal throne (where God Almighty grant he may long reign), but on the one hand he is invaded by a condemned rebel and arch-traitor, who hath received the just reward of his rebellion. On the other hand, up starts a poppet prince, who seduces the mobile into rebellion, into which they are easily bewitched; for, I say, rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft: this

man, who had as little title to the crown as the least of you (for I hope all you are legitimate), being overtaken by justice and by the goodness of his Prince, brought to the scaffold, he has the confidence (Good God! that men should be so impudent) to say, *That God Almighty did know with what joyfulness he did die* (a traitor); having for these two years last past lived in all incontinency and rebellion, notwithstanding the goodness of an indulgent Prince so often to pardon him; but it is just like him. Rebellion (as I told you) is like the sin of witchcraft. For there was another, which I shall not name, because I will not trample on the dust of the dead, but you may remember him by the words of his speech; he tells you 'That he thanks his God that he falls by the axe, and not by the fiery trial.' He had rather (he had as good have said) die a traitor than a blessed martyr.

"Great God of heaven and earth! what reason have men to rebel! But, as I told you, rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft. 'Fear God and honour the King,' is rejected by people for no other reason, as I can find, but that it is written in St. Peter. Gentlemen, I must tell you, I am afraid that this city hath too many of these people in it; and it is your duty to search them out; for this city added much to that ship's loading: there was your Tylys, your Roes, and your Wades*,—men started up like mushrooms, — scoundrel fellows,—mere sons of dunghills: these men must, forsooth, set up for liberty and property. A fellow that carries the sword before Mr. Mayor must be very careful of his property, and turn politician, as if he had as much property as the person before whom he bears the sword,

* Afterwards Sir Joseph Tyley. Roe was sword-bearer to the mayor of Bristol; Wade was made town-clerk of Bristol after this by the King's order.

though perchance not worth a groat. Gentlemen, I must tell you, you have still here the Tyleys, the Roes, and the Wades. I have brought a brush in my pocket, and I shall be sure to rub the dirt wherever it is, or on whomsoever it sticks. Gentlemen, I shall not stand complimenting with you, I shall talk with some of you before you and I part. I tell you, I tell you, I have brought a besom, and I will sweep every man's door, whether great or small. Must I mention particulars? I hope you will save me that trouble; yet I will hint a few things to you that perchance I have heard of. This is a great city, and the magistrates wonderful loyal, and very forward to assist the King with men, money, and provisions, when the rebels were just at your gates. I do believe it would have gone very hard with some of you if the enemy had entered the city, notwithstanding the endeavours that was used to accomplish it. Certainly they had, and must have, great encouragement from a party within, or else why should their design be on this city? Nay, when the enemy was within a mile of you, that a ship should be set on fire in the midst of you, as a signal to the rebels, and to amuse those within; when if God Almighty had not been more gracious unto you than you was to yourselves (so that wind and tide was for you), for what I know, the greatest part of this city had perished; and yet you are willing to believe it was an accident. Certainly here is a great many of these men which they call *Trimmers*. A *Whig* is but a mere fool to these; for a Whig is some sort of a subject in comparison of these; for a Trimmer is but a cowardly and base-spirited *Whig;* for the Whig is but the journeyman apprentice, that is hired and set on in the rebellion, whilst the Trimmer is afraid to appear in the cause:

he stands at a doubt, and says to himself, I will not assist the King until I see who has the best of it; and refuses to entertain the King's friends, for fear the rebels should get the better of it. These men stink worse than the worst dirt you have in your city; these men have so little religion that they forget that he that is not for us is against us. Gentlemen, I tell you I have the kalendar of this city here in my hand. I have heard of those that have searched into the very sink of a conventicle to find out some sneaking rascal to hide their money by night. Come, come, gentlemen, to be plain with you, I find the dirt of the ditch is in your nostrils. Good God! where am I? in Bristol! This city, it seems, claims the privilege of hanging and drawing amongst themselves. I find you have more need of a commission once a month at least. The very magistrates, which should be the ministers of justice, fall out one with another to that degree that they will scarce dine with each other; whilst it is the business of some cunning men that lye behind the curtain to raise divisions amongst them, and set them together by the ears, and knock their loggerheads together; yet I find they can agree for their interest. Or if there be but a *kid* in the case (for I hear the trade of *kidnapping* is of much request in this city), they can discharge a felon, or a traitor, provided they will go to Mr. Alderman's plantation at the West Indies. Come, come, I find you stink for want of rubbing. Gentlemen, what need I mind you of these things? I hope you will search into them, and inform me. It seems the Dissenters and Phanaticks fare well amongst you, by reason of the favour of the magistrates; for example, if a Dissenter, who is a notorious and obstinate offender, comes before them to be fined, one alderman or other stands up and says, he

is a good man (though three parts a rebel). Well, then, for the sake of Mr. Alderman, he shall be fined but five shillings. Then comes another, and up stands another goodman alderman, and says, I know him to be an honest man (though rather worse than the former); well, for Mr. Alderman's sake, he shall be fined but half-a-crown, — so, *manus manum fricat*, — you play the knave for me now, and I will play the knave for you by-and-by. I am ashamed of these things; and I must not forget to tell you, that I hear of some differences amongst the clergy*, those that ought to preach peace and unity to others. Gentlemen, these things must be looked into. I shall not now trouble you any further: there are several other things; but I expect to hear of them from you. And if you do not tell me of some of these things, I shall remind you of them," &c.†

Upon affidavits read, and other evidence against Sir William (Hammond)‡ the mayor, Alderman L——, and others, for kidnapping, there being bills privately preferred to the grand jury by an individual (J—— R——), and being found, Jeffreys made the mayor and the aldermen concerned go from the bench to the bar to plead to the informations, using many expressions, saying of the mayor, "See how the kidnapping rogue looks," &c.

The scope of this tirade (peculiar and without precedent as it is) was to alarm the jury, to extort mutual criminations and confessions, and thus build up a calendar of malefactors. Jeffreys would willingly have

* Lord Weymouth wrote the year before, that the dean, that extraordinary man Thompson, "if the bishop have not great prudence, will set your city in a flame; and if he have, he must be preached against."

† Life and Death of Judge Jeffreys, appended to the New Martyrology.

‡ Sir W. Hammond was fined 10,000*l.* for kidnapping, by a commission, Aug. 1. 1686. — *Letter of Viscount Weymouth.*

hanged some of the magistrates, or filled his purse at their expense, could he have done so. He placed himself at the head of the commission, before the mayor, which had not been usual; and attacked the ostentation and pride of having trumpeters, &c. The merit of arresting the evils of kidnapping must be considerably lessened when we find the whole affair was a political attack upon Bristol for its inclination to rebellion, and not a pure emanation of justice.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

A. D. 1685.

Numbers to be transported. — Desire to procure labourers in the Plantations. — Kidnapping at Bristol. — Punishment of banishment for ten years considered. — Treatment and price of a slave. — Anecdotes. — Proposed to give away a thousand of Monmouth's followers. — King's order for delivery of prisoners, with directions. — Jeffreys writes to the King. — Estimates the value of each man. — His letter produces no effect. — Individuals who received the men. — The numbers assigned to each. — Adventures of persons transported. — Account of Azariah Pinney. — His ransom. — Curious history. — Affair of the Taunton maids. — Duke of Somerset, Sir Francis Warre, &c. concerned. — Sunderland writes to William Penn, to make the best terms for the maids of honour. — How the matter was settled. — Penn's conduct presents two phases. — He is ill-treated at Marlborough. — Magistrates of Devon issue a paper strongly worded. — Bishop of Exeter orders it shall be read in churches. — Followers of Monmouth threaten to sue their persecutors. — The great scourge of the country, the soldiery. — They steal lace at Colyton. — Inquiry. — Atrocious conduct and violence. — Jeffreys boasts of his doings. — Dr. Oliver escapes to town with the judge's clerk. — What did Jeffreys realise by his campaign? — His affair with Edmund Prideaux, Esq. — Wickedness and cruelty of the case. — Memoir of that gentleman. — Petitioners numerous after the Revolution. — Pardon and exceptions. — Curious petition of Reginald Tucker. — Summary of numbers that perished. — James II.'s triumph affects him. — Is displeased with the mayor of Bristol. — Visits Sedgemoor. — Rev. Mr. Axe reads his account of the rebellion to the King. — His Majesty is coolly received in a second progress. — Looks graciously upon those who had been of Monmouth's party.

THIS mention of *kidnapping* at Bristol will serve as an introduction to a few remarks upon the transportation of eight hundred and fifty of the prisoners, sentenced to die for their participation in Monmouth's rebellion.

The desire to procure white labourers for the plantations in the West India islands, instead of negro slaves, was very great in this century. The sugar trade

flourished at the close of this reign in a *remarkable* degree. Extreme cupidity was displayed in order to get hold of parties to send out. The becoming possessed of men in a surreptitious or fraudulent manner for this purpose fully justifies the expressions "selling for slaves," and "kidnapping." The magistrates of Bristol used to induce persons charged with offences to escape the terrors of the law by engaging with them to go out to the plantations. At a time when courtiers, favourites, and soldiers were rewarded by having condemned prisoners given to them as a present, the value of a man for working in the plantations was soon ascertained, and great was the scramble for the booty. This was the case with respect to the Monmouth men who it was not intended should be executed. Let it not be supposed that transportation to the West India islands for ten years was a punishment of absence alone from their homes,—a pretty severe punishment of itself. Those who had purchased, or laid out money to procure convicts, did so for the sake and with the expectation of profit: they became the absolute masters of the recent slaves, and could only be repaid by the sale of individuals, or from the result of their labour.

The inhumanity of selling obnoxious individuals for slaves to the West India planters was severely reprobated in the parliament of 1659. Dr. Lingard quotes a petition, setting forth that seventy persons, who had been apprehended on account of the Salisbury rising of Penruddock and Grove, after a year's imprisonment, had been sold at Barbadoes for 1550 pounds weight of sugar a-piece, more or less, according to their working faculties. Among them were divines, officers, and gentlemen, who were represented as "grinding at the mills, attending at the furnaces, and digging in that scorching

island, being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses or beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-posts as rogues at their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England."*

The Covenanters taken by the Duke of Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge, who promised to live peaceably, were set at liberty; the others, about two hundred and seventy, were transported to our plantations, but were all lost at sea on their voyage. Many of the victims of the persecution of the Scotch council in the early part of this year, Cameronians punished for political as much as theological opinions, were allowed to exchange a close and loathsome confinement for the service of the planters in Barbadoes.† These prisoners preferred becoming slaves to enduring such imprisonment. After Argyle's defeat, the planters were on the alert and were successful. Some of the common prisoners, and others, Highlanders, were, by the Privy Council, probably not without a good consideration, delivered to Mr. George Scott of Pitlochy, and other planters in New Jersey, Jamaica, &c.: "but considering that some of them were more perverse in mincing the King's authority than others, they ordained these, to the number of forty, to have a piece of their lug (ear) cut off by the hangman; and the women disowning the King to be burnt in the shoulder, that if any of them returned they might be known and hanged;" which severity, says Sir John Lauder, was all performed this day, August 5. 1685.

Lord Sunderland wrote from Windsor, Sept. 14.‡, to Judge Jeffreys, to acquaint him from the King, that of such persons as the judge should think qualified for

* Lingard, xi. 143., who quotes Burton's Diary, Thurloe, &c.

† Lingard.

‡ State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers.

transportation, the following individuals were to be furnished with these numbers: —

Sir Philip Howard to have 200; Sir Richard White, 200; Sir William Booth, 100; Mr. Kendal, 100; Mr. Nipho, 100; Sir William Stapleton, 100; Sir Christopher Musgrave, 100; a merchant, whose name Lord Sunderland did not know, 100. Thus it was *proposed* to give away 1000.

In a postscript Lord Sunderland adds, the Queen has asked for a hundred more of the rebels.*

The King directed Jeffreys "to give orders for delivering the said numbers to the above persons respectively, or to such as they shall appoint to receive them, the said parties entering into security that they will take care that the said prisoners be forthwith transported to some of his Majesty's southern plantations, viz. Jamaica, Barbadoes, or any of the Leeward Islands in America, to be kept there for the space of ten years before they have their liberty. And that his Majesty and the country may be eased of the charge of the said prisoners as soon as possible, his Majesty has thought fit to let the above-named persons know that they are to take the said prisoners off his hands within the space of ten days; after which, they that have them are to maintain them, his Majesty intending to be at no further charge about them, but for guarding them to the ports where they are to be embarked."

James must have known that field-labour in the plantations was death to Europeans. Such has been tried of late years. In January, 1842, the Jamaica House of Assembly pronounced that European emigration is a failure, and has brought fruitless expense and discredit on the island; and instead of bright-

* State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers.

ening the prospects, has tended to darken them, by spreading an unfavourable but erroneous account of the healthiness of the climate, and of the poverty of the inhabitants. Jeffreys disliked the proposed arrangements intimated to him by Sunderland; but not on account of the deadliness of a tropical climate. His objections, which follow, are dated from Taunton, September 19.: —

"I received your Majesty's commands by my Lord Sunderland about the rebels your Majesty designs for transportation. But I beseech your Majesty that I may inform you, that each prisoner will be worth 10*l.* if not 15*l.* a piece; and, sir, if your Majesty orders them as you have already designed, persons that have not suffered in the service, will run away with the booty, and, I am sure, sir, your Majesty will be continually perplexed with petitions for recompences for sufferers, as well as for rewards for servants. Sir, I hope your Majesty will pardon this presumption. I know it is my duty to obey. I have only respited doing any thing till I know your royal pleasure is they should have the men; for, upon my allegiance to you, sir, I shall never trimme in my obedience to your commands in all things. Sir, had not your Majesty been pleased to declare your gracious intentions to them that served you in the soldiery, and also to the many distressed families ruined by the late Rebellion, I should not have presumed to have given your Majesty this trouble."*

Jeffreys's letter produced no change. The gift of the prisoners had probably been made, or the purchase effected by the several parties. Sir William Stapleton

* Copy furnished by the Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay, M.P.

was the officer sent to assist the Duke of Beaufort with his military experience. He had been Governor of the Leeward Islands. This officer had some claim to prize-money. William Bridgeman, Esq. was Lord Sunderland's secretary.

Jeffreys, in a subsequent letter from Bristol, having no doubt ascertained that his objections availed nothing, acquiesced in the following distribution of the convicts. I have distinguished the towns from which the prisoners were taken.

	Dorchester.	Exeter.	Taunton.	Wells.	Total.
Sir William Booth - - -	100	...	100	...	200
Jerome Nipho - - - -	59	7	...	33	99
Sir Christopher Musgrave - -	16	...	84	...	100
To the Queen's order - - -	...	...	100	...	100
Sir William Stapleton - - -	...	...	...	100	100
Sir Philip Howard - - - -	...	...	...	200	200
William Bridgeman, Esq., or Captain John Price, who probably bought the prisoners from the former - -	...	...	...	50	50
					849

These persons became either in reality slaves, or banished persons, according to their circumstances. Of so great a number, my researches have only slightly developed the history of four individuals. Two followers of the Duke from Taunton, John and James Turle, were sent to the West Indies: one died, the other returned, at what period is not known.

John Spiring, a poor Dissenter of Axminster, was a complete slave; and was sold once and again. Some Christian friends made a collection, and sent out money to ransom him, which was done; but the poor fellow was drowned on his voyage home.*

The next, and last of the exiles whose fate I can at all learn any thing of, was a gentleman named AZARIAH

* Axminster Church-book.

PINNEY, of Bettiscomb, seven miles from Lyme, and the same distance from Crewkerne. He was a young man, the son of the Rev. John Pinney, of Broadwindsor. This clergyman was episcopally ordained in 1642, but renounced prelacy in 1648, and accepted from the Presbytery the rectory of Norton-sub-Hamden, near Yeovil. Mr. Azariah Pinney's brother Nathaniel was private secretary to Mr. Booth, or to Lord Delamere. Mr. George Booth's property was inherited by some of the Pinney family.

Mr. Azariah Pinney, having been sentenced to death for high treason, was pardoned and given to Jerome Nipho, Esq. Rich and poor were alike given to some individual for his benefit, as shown in the preceding list of "prisoners to be transported," and were conveyed to Bristol. Mr. Azariah Pinney's destination was the island of Nevis. His father clearly refers to this place as a matter of choice, and would, had he been consulted, have advised about it. He parted with a wife and young child, a son, and proceeded, at the age of twenty-four years, to his place of banishment. Mr. A. Pinney soon ceased to be a slave. Judge Jeffreys valued each man at from 10*l.* to 15*l.*; but Mr. Jerome Nipho received, through George Penne, Esq.*, for Mr. A. Pinney's ransom, sixty-five pounds!! Who can hesitate to admit that the possessing two hundred prisoners was immensely profitable, and that it was well worth giving a considerable bribe to be favoured in this manner, and so enabled to reap a harvest from those whose friends could ransom them, or by sale of the others, the real slaves, in the markets of the West Indies, when flourishing to an extent few can readily conceive. Mr.

* Is not this a mistake for William Penn?

Azariah Pinney sailed in the "Rose Pink," Captain Wogan, and soon experienced the evils of shipwreck and fever. In one of his father's account-books 117*l.* 3*s.* is entered for expenses to send him away to Nevis. The banished gentleman had to pay ten days' expenses at Bristol. He visited London and York before sailing. Mr. Azariah Pinney kept a diary, now lost, for his son's information and improvement. He became a flourishing man, and his son was eventually Chief Justice of Nevis. Still his letters have complaints of storms, hurricanes, earthquakes, and a ruinous invasion of the French. The Presbyterians of Bettiscomb were anxious lest all Azariah's grandchildren should die, or, what they deemed worse, become Papists. The context shows they meant by this, members of the Church of England. He returned to visit his family about the year 1707, and died in London in 1719, but where he was buried is not known. The young child he left behind became father of John Frederic Pinney, who represented Bridport in parliament. His cousin now bears the same name.

Whether a slave, from not having means to buy his freedom, or simply a banished man, the period of exile was ten years. How many of those who toiled under a tropical sun survived and returned home is not known; very few, perhaps, were spared. Whether all could procure means for paying their passage home is another matter, upon which we have no information. Many, perhaps, lived to learn of another landing in the west of England, which was crowned with success, while they remained in misery abroad, though they had espoused the same principles. Was any thing done for the poor slaves when William III. came? How thankful would the writer be for any information upon this point, which he has sought after in vain.

I conclude, that after the Revolution, if the parties could buy themselves off from the planter whose property they had become, till the year 1695, they might return home unmolested. If deficient in means, the Revolution brought them no advantage. It must have been after the Revolution that the Dissenters of Axminster bought off Spiring, who was drowned on his passage homeward.

So late as February, 1701, Nathaniel Pinney writes about getting his brother's attainder reversed. The case, drawn up by Major Wade, then the town-clerk of Bristol, was to be put into the hands of the Bristol members; and the same lawyer was to word a clause for the effectual reversing of the attainders, and to put it into the hands of the same members, praying them to get it inserted into the act of grace, which it was thought likely would pass that session. Mr. Azariah Pinney's brother wrote to friends to interest the members of their acquaintance, that in case the act of grace did not pass, yet an act for reversal of these attainders might nevertheless be attempted after that session. All the lawyers said Mr. Azariah Pinney was safe only as far as life went, and not to estate. The sentence of death for high treason, though a pardon was granted, prevented the insertion of his son's life on property, or of buying and willing away land.*

The affair of the Taunton maids has been left till after the termination of the Bloody Assize, to which it did not belong. The fathers and relatives of the children had, many of them, suffered: they were given as a Christmas-box to the maids of honour, and thus their

* The important facts contained in the memoir of Mr. Azariah Pinney are derived from letters at *Somerton House*, obligingly communicated by Miss Pinney, daughter of J. F. Pinney, Esq., and sister of William Pinney, Esq., lately M.P. for Lyme Regis.

lives were insured; but their troubles now only commenced, for the court-ladies hoped to receive 7000*l.* to procure their pardon and safety. This demand must have been much more than could readily be met, and months glided away without any thing effectual being done. In December, as Christmas approached, the "proud Duke of Somerset" did not disdain to move for some friends of his in the matter, and to hold out threats against the children, and to express his idea of what was *reasonable*, viz. 7000*l.*

The Duke of Somerset sent a list of the Taunton maids to Sir Francis Warre, Bart., of Hestercombe, who he supposed, from living so near Taunton, must be known to him, December 12. The Duke was anxious to know if any of them were in custody: if not, he desired they might be secured, especially the schoolmistress. He had some friends that he believed upon easy terms might get their pardon from the King.*

Mr. Bird, the town-clerk of Taunton, had intruded himself into the management of this business, but the maids of honour had never given him any authority; so they wrote, January 12. 1686, to him, not to trouble himself any more in the business. The Duke of Somerset's letter, January 21., to Sir F. Warre, explains his Grace's views and wishes as to the settlement of the matter: these were, that the maids of honour should sign a letter of attorney for Sir Francis Warre, and some gentleman whom he should recommend to act for them. His Grace bids him inform the Taunton maids that the maids of honour are resolved to sue them to outlawry unless they comply with what is reasonable, which his Grace thinks 7000*l.* is. Sir Francis Warre, unwilling to

* Information of C. W. Bamfylde, Esq. to Dr. Toulmin, historian of Taunton, to whom he gave copies of the letters. See Savage's edition of Toulmin's History.

be concerned in such a business, represented to the Duke that the schoolmistress was a woman of mean birth, and that the scholars worked the banners by her orders, without knowing of any offence. Mr. John Jeans, of Stoford, near Taunton, a solicitor, gained much celebrity for the intrepidity and success with which, in conjunction with the worthy baronet, he defended the maids.* It, however, appears that the maids of honour, not finding Sir Francis Warre a ready tool, induced the secretary of state to write the celebrated Penn the following letter†: —

"Whitehall, Feb. 13. 168$\frac{5}{6}$.

"HER Majesty's maids of honour having acquainted me that they design to employ you and Mr. Walden in making a composition with the relations of the Maids of Taunton for the high misdemeanor they have been guilty of, I do, at their request, hereby let you know that his Majesty has been pleased to give their fines to the said maids of honour, and therefore recommend it to Mr. Walden and you to make the most advantageous composition you can in their behalf.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,

"SUNDERLAND."

Mr. Penn and his colleague, in proceeding to the settlement, were assisted by the exception of the names of the Taunton maids out of the general pardon, 10th March, 1686, and by a warrant 11th March, as follows‡: —

"WHEREAS his Majesty, at the humble request of the Queen Majesty's maids of honour, is graciously inclined

* Communicated by J. Billet, Esq.

† State Paper Office. Lord Sunderland's Papers, ii. 324.

‡ State Paper Office. Warrant Book, ii. 219.

to extend his mercy to those deluded young women, commonly called the Maids of Taunton, in the county of Somerset, who presented the late Duke of Monmouth with certain colours or ensigns, which he made use of in his late rebellion in the West. It is therefore his Majesty's pleasure that these maids, or their relations and friends, who have compounded, or shall compound, with the agent employed by her Majesty's said maids of honour, shall not be molested in their persons or possessions upon account that they have not yet obtained their pardon for the said crime.

"To give fresh security (if taken into custody), as the agent shall accept and approve of, not to be molested till his Majesty's further pleasure is declared.

"MIDDLETON.

"Whitehall, 11th March, $168\frac{5}{6}$.

"Like certificate, to the effect above, for Susannah Musgrave, schoolmistress, at Taunton."

James II. granted a pardon to Miss Sarah Blake, July 15., the copy of which was furnished Dr. Toulmin by Mr. H. Norris of Taunton. The impression upon this gentleman's mind was, that one of the Miss Blakes died in Dorchester Gaol of small-pox.

The employment of William Penn upon such a business may be viewed in a different light by many persons. This transaction presents two phases; and Penn doubtless thought, not of the lucre of the traffickers, but of the mercy which they sold.* The young maids paid from 50*l.* to 100*l.* each, according to their abilities, which amounts to less than half the sum demanded.

* Wallace, continuation of Sir James Mackintosh. Brent and Crane of Bridgwater are said by Oldmixon to have been agents.

The pardons came out piecemeal. Mr. Penn was in the West the following year. He found not so favourable a reception at Marlborough as at Bristol. He held forth in the town-hall, whilst two ballad-singers made a chorus for his whole preachment, and afterwards the boys burnt his coat to pieces with squibs.* William Penn was seized by the populace at the Revolution, and dragged, with others, before the magistrates. Clarkson, in his Memoirs of Penn†, makes no mention of these particulars. Penn attended the horrible execution (by burning) of Mrs. Gaunt, for harbouring a rebel, and that of Cornish. His biographer adds, "Whether William Penn was in the habit of attending spectacles of this kind, I know not." It is a fact, however, that men of the most noted benevolence have felt and indulged a curiosity of this sort. When sent for by the council of William III., Penn owned James II. had been his, and his father's friend, and that, in gratitude, he himself was the King's friend.†

The expression "Dissenting Rebellion" has been often used with some correctness, as by far the greater number that engaged in it were Nonconformists. The magistrates of Devon, at their general quarter sessions, issued an order, October 6., which the Bishop of Exeter directed all the clergy of the diocese to publish, October 15. In this strongly-worded paper the whole affair is laid to the Dissenters: the magistrates record these sentiments.‡

"We think it our duty, after such an execrable rebellion as we have lately had (which, by the infinite

* Viscount Weymouth's Letter. Thorp's MSS.

† Private and Public Life, by Thomas Clarkson, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1813.

‡ British Museum. Anglia, iii. 177. 337., on a broad sheet.

mercy of God, and the admirable prudence and conduct of the King, was so soon and happily suppressed), in some extraordinary manner to express our abhorrence of it, and our future care and zealous endeavour to root out (as far as by law we can) that pestilent faction whence it sprung, and to bring to condign punishment all those that did in the least favour, countenance, or abet it; for we have by experience found that impenitent hardened sectaries, schismatics, or rebels (which are but convertible terms) are no more to be trusted in any civil society (without the utmost caution and security of the law) than beasts of prey without chains and fetters; wherefore, according to the former orders and resolutions of this court, we will vigorously put in execution the severest of the laws now in force against all seditious sectaries and disaffected persons to the government. And we will, by order by this court, require from them sufficient security for their quiet and peaceable behaviour."

(The constables are required to present exact lists of all the inhabitants of their respective parishes that have been reputed fanatical or disaffected, and whether they were absent from their home from 12th June to 6th July.)

"And forasmuch as seditious libels, scandalous speeches, and false news, have been the successful engines with which they have propagated their hellish treasons, we resolve severally to punish all the authors or publishers of seditious libels, and the spreaders of false news.

"And whereas it hath appeared that Nonconformist ministers and conventicle preachers have been the mischievous factors that have for a long time propagated this faction, and, under pretences of religion,

have seduced the unwary people from their allegiance and duty, and that considerable numbers of them were actually in the late rebellion (fit chaplains indeed for such a mushroom king, and fit spiritual guides for such lewd rebels), &c., we resolve to offer three pounds, instead of forty shillings before offered, for the apprehension of each.

"We have by sad and long experience found the mischievous and fatal effects of too much lenity and indulgence, which, meeting with the incorrigible ill-nature of the sectaries and phanaticks, did certainly beget and nourish this late impudent rebellion; which a few gentle stroaks of justice would at first happily have prevented, so that the sword, which hath been defensively unsheathed, and hath been (thanks to Almighty God) so successful, must for some time be necessarily kept unsheathed, in the execution of the laws, till this generation of impenitent and desperate rebels be all cut off; for our religion, the King's sacred person, and our government, cannot otherwise be secured."

Ought we to feel any surprise that after such an address, and when the rebellion was quite put down, intemperate persons behaved in an unwarrantable manner to the followers and friends of Monmouth. The Bloody Assize well over, and a pardon passed, some who had been sufferers at the hands of their neighbours were inclined to revenge or redress their wrongs. In May (29th, 1686) Lord Sunderland wrote to the Duke of Somerset that the King was informed that divers persons in Somersetshire, who were concerned in the late rebellion, or are otherwise disaffected to his Majesty's government, do behave themselves very insolently, to the terror of his Majesty's loyal subjects, by threatening to sue them for pretended trespass during the

said rebellion, and otherwise molesting them. The Duke of Somerset was directed to write to the deputy lieutenants, and to afford countenance to the loyal subjects.*

When we read that nothing like security was felt till some time after this date, we perhaps little suspect that the paid defenders, the soldiery, were the scourge of the country. Well might our forefathers declaim about a standing army. How different was the behaviour of officers and men then to that which distinguishes the British soldier of the present day. A party of Lord Cornbury's and Lord Churchill's troops of dragoons were moved in October from Honiton and Ottery to Colyton. These soldiers broke open the house of one William Bird, and carried off bone-lace worth 325*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, besides frightening his wife and children to the danger of their lives. The Devon magistrates were directed to go to Colyton, find out the offenders, and satisfy Bird.† The Earl of Bath had to inquire, January 16. 1686, into the disorders committed by the dragoons at Bideford. Who that has investigated the local history of the time has not met with the abuses and atrocities of the soldiers in winter quarters? Lord Weymouth, in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, states that his neighbours of Frome and Warminster are in dreadful apprehensions. The truth is, adds his lordship, the licence they have hitherto lived with is shameful, and will in the end prove no service to his Majesty. The same writer alludes to the atrocious conduct of Colonel

* State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers, ii. 336.

† State Paper Office. Lord Sunderland's Papers, ii. 303. This was December 3. A second inquiry was instituted December 31.; Bird's brother having written a letter by which it appeared Bird had exaggerated his losses.

Trelawney's regiment in Shaftesbury and Sarum. Captain Wolseley encouraged his soldiers to toss the mayor of Scarborough in a blanket; and possibly, on such an occasion, it will be aggravation, writes the same nobleman, that he said he could make him know the military power was above the civil!

As Judge Jeffreys journeyed from Bristol to London he little thought that Dr. Oliver, who left the field of Sedgemoor with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, was in company with his clerk, to whom he had been introduced by a Tory gentleman who had afforded him shelter. This medical gentleman finally escaped to become physician to Greenwich Hospital. Jeffreys vauntingly puffed forth on his return, that he had hanged more than all the judges of England since William the Conqueror. He once asked a major how many the soldiers had killed. The officer said, "One thousand." "I believe I have condemned as many as that myself," returned the peer.

Jeffreys received 1416*l.* 10*s.* from Graham and Burton—terrible names!—the crown solicitors, as appears from the parliamentary inquiry. What must the whole assize have produced him? Certainly a very large sum. It may be true that men were given to officers and others, from whom no profit was derived by Jeffreys; but this judge had *a present made* him by the King, and the affair is curious. His Majesty had been pleased to approve of the respiting two witnesses who accused Mr. Prideaux. This fact which has been mentioned will serve as an introduction to the following narrative:—

Edmund Prideaux Esq., of that ancient and beautiful structure, Ford Abbey, where he received Monmouth in his progress, situated in an insulated portion

of Dorset, was the son of the Attorney-General Prideaux, who, in serving the Parliament, had been busy in examining Charles I.'s cabinet of letters. Mr. Edmund Prideaux was an ardent supporter of the country party.

In Charles II.'s reign sermons were preached and collections made for the redemption of poor captives from their bondage in Algiers. In 1681 the minister and churchwardens of Thorncombe waited upon Mr. Prideaux, and desired his benevolence. He expressed on this occasion an opinion that the poor wretches had better live in Africa under the Turk than come home here, where they must live under popery. A Nonconformist minister was said to preach in the chapel of Ford Abbey.*

When the Duke landed, Mr. Prideaux remained peaceably at his house, which was visited by a party at eight at night for horses and arms; and one person, Malachi Mallock, drank to the health of Monmouth. When the news reached London, a warrant was drawn up, and Saywell quietly arrested Mr. Prideaux in the midst of his family, June 19. He was discharged by habeas corpus, giving security in 10,000*l.* to appear July 14.; and often applied, without success, to be examined by the council, that he might know his accusers or his crime.

Mr. Prideaux continued in London. Jeffreys's agents were at work, and procured two witnesses who were respited, and upon information sent to town the King caused Mr. Prideaux to be committed to the Tower, Sept. 14. He was ill of the gout; his lady was not permitted to see him, unless she consented to remain

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Collection. Domestic, vi. 177. A letter from Gregory Alford of Lyme to Mr. Marmaduke Alford at his Majesty's Chapel at Whitehall.

with him in confinement. Jeffreys had frequently said he would hang Mr. Prideaux, which the latter knew, and of the attempts that were being made in the West to procure false evidence against him. No time was to be lost. Two persons of rank, one of them, Lady Churchill, made application to the King for Mr. Prideaux, who, after a fortnight's application, was informed "that the King had given him to Jeffreys." Mrs. Prideaux ventured to ask what sum the agents would take from their employer to ensure her husband's safety. The answer was 10,000*l.* 7000*l.* were refused by Jeffreys. The demur to so extravagant a demand caused, as sometimes occurs in purchases, an advance in price. The lady was refused permission to see her husband till 15,000*l.* were agreed to be paid, which was done three days after, and 240*l.* allowed as discount for prompt payment. The wicked judge now bought the two fine estates and manors of Dalby on the Wolds, and Nether Broughton in Leicestershire, from the Duke of Albemarle, for 34,000*l.* Was not the Western assize a harvest for a poor judge?

The Commons' Journals contain many details of the dreadful wickedness practised on this occasion. Mr. Charles Speke declared, before his execution, that he was offered his life if he would swear against this gentleman. The great point desired was, that some one should swear that when the Duke's party went to Ford Abbey, Mr. Prideaux drank Monmouth's health. Mr. Key of Ilminster, a clothier, who was present, denied the fact: he was told that if he would swear to the sending of men and horses by Mr. Prideaux, the King would be kind to him. This noble fellow denied any knowledge of the sending anything by Mr. Prideaux. He was told that would not do; was that day arrested

by a messenger, and found he had been excepted by the Lord Chancellor in the general pardon. Mallock had said, or was induced to say, that Mr. Prideaux sent money and horses. Key affirmed that Mallock was drunk, and that the party carried the horses as well as coach-horses away. Thomas Dare, jun., the son of old Dare, whom Fletcher killed, was captured the day after his father was shot, and carried first to the Duke of Albemarle, then to Dorchester. Jeffreys had him to his chamber, and asked him about the money and horses sent. He had Dare brought a second time, and told him if he would swear against Mr. Prideaux he should have his pardon, and he would get him a commission. One Samuel Storey, who swore that old Dare rode a grey horse, and came the day he was killed from Ford Abbey, confessed he had been once or twice to the Lord Chancellor's chamber.* Judge Jeffreys had a longing eye for Ford Abbey.

On the accession of William III. a bill was brought in for charging the manors of Dalby and Nether Broughton with the repayment of 15,000*l.* and interest, extorted from Mr. Prideaux. It was unsuccessful, and one of its most strenuous opponents was Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen, then trustee with others for the children and creditors of the deceased peer, who conducted the Crown cases at the Bloody Assize. The Commons' Journals are full of applications after the revolution. Servants and persons pensioned by Charles II.; Charles's mistresses, and some of the cast-off ones too, petitioned. Lady Armstrong, and Wilmore, one of the grand jury that ignored a bill against Stephen Colledge. Numbers injured the cause, for the House did not know how to satisfy the applicants.

* Commons' Journals. Case at length, December 26. 1690.

The Bloody Assize having been now fully described, the reader may imagine that a summary of the numbers executed, transported, or otherwise punished, may be given,—that ever memorable period of human suffering having expired. This might be done so far as Judge Jeffreys is concerned, but the miseries of this rebellion continued to be felt for several years; the embarrassments in respect of property to the exiles and to their children for many years. Numbers escaped the terrors of the Bloody Assize; they longed for their homes, and, though proscribed, hoped no notice would be taken of them. Informers had not exhausted their perception of faces absent for months; courtiers knew better than ever the profits derived from having convicted traitors given to them. The assizes for the West witnessed trials of which little account can be given.

The judges rode the circuit as usual in March, and there was great fear lest the executions would be numerous, as at the last assize. While on the circuit, the proclamation of the general amnesty or act of oblivion was issued by the King, 10th March, 1686. The prison doors flew open, the lurking places were deserted, and the afflicted yeomen everywhere hastened to their delighted families. A writer before quoted* glows in narrating the change, how the mischievous designs of rude soldiers in many places were broken in pieces; the fears of many a sad and pensive heart abated. Some blinks of light did shine in the darkness, and great revivings in a house of bondage,—a little pleasant way in a howling wilderness; the lives of many spared that were appointed to the slaughter, and many souls delivered from all the expectation of the

* Of the Axminster "Church-book" of the Independent Chapel.

people. Blessed be God that a remnant do yet survive to the poor Church of God, and that any are spared in a day of great consumption!

James II., in his proclamation, 10th March, 1686*, declares, he is persuaded that many who joined themselves in that rebellion, being poor labourers and handicraftsmen, were drawn and seduced thereinto by the subtle and crafty insinuations of some ill-disposed persons of greater note and quality than themselves, and not from their own evil rancour of mind and traitorous aversion to him or his government.

All who in a traitorous and hostile manner landed with James Scot Duke of Monmouth, and were officers, or had the name, or were reputed officers; — and the following individuals were EXCEPTED: —

George Speke, of White Lackington, Esq.
Mary Speke, his wife.
John Speke, their son.
Samuel Townsend, Ilminster.
Reginald Tucker, Long Sutton.
James Hurd, Langport.
George Pavior, ditto.
Gabriel Sprat, Ash Priors.
George Cary, Glastonbury.
John Lewis, Babcary.
Thomas Lewis, ditto.
John Parsons, ditto.
Thomas Cram, Warminster.
Thomas Place, Edington.
Robert Gee, Martock.
Hugh Chamberlain.
William Savage, Taunton.
Richard Slape, ditto.
John Palmer, Bridgwater.
John Webber, ditto.
Henry Herring, Taunton.
Thomas Hurd, Langport.
Christopher Cooke, Wilton, clothier.
Amos Blinham, Galhampton.

(*Here follow all the Taunton maids, with other females.*

Mrs. Musgrave, Schoolmistress.
Sarah Wye.
Elizabeth Wye.
Catharine Bovet.
Scading.
Mary Blake.
Elizabeth Knash.
Mary Bird.
Mary Mead.
Susan Peck.
Elizabeth Barns.
Mary Burridge.
Hannah Burridge.
Grace Herring.
Anne Herring.
Mary Waters.
Sarah Waters.
Elizabeth Germain.
Grace Germain.
Hannah Whetham.
Esther Whetham.
Susan Tyler.
Mary Goodwyn.

* British Museum, Anglia, 1684—1792, iii. 177—377.

Mrs. Sarah Longham.
Margery Sympson.
Sarah Reynolds.
Mary Hucklebridge.
Margaret Hucklebridge.
Mary Baker.
Mary Tanner.
Anne Tanner.
Elizabeth Gammon.
Sarah Stacy.
Hannah Stacy.
Elizabeth Dyke.
Elizabeth Baker.
Mary Smith.
Mary Page.
Elizabeth March.
Hannah Grove.
Elizabeth Bisgood, Taunton.

John Tucker, Shepton Mallet.
John Bennet, Alisbeere, gent.
John Greenway, Crewkerne.
Thomas Skinner, Dawlish, Esq.
John alias Rob Moor, Haychurch.
William Way, Coomb St. Nicholas.
Robert Hucker, Taunton.
Robert Penny, Shepton Mallet.
Thomas Hooper.
Edward Keetch.
William Parbury.
William Green.
William Hussey.
William Strode, of Street, Esq.
Mary Bath, Wrington.
George Legg, ditto.
Edward Rogers, Banwell.
John Rogers, ditto.
Ralph Green.
William Jobbins.
William Manning.
William Whinnell.
John Baker, Banwell.
John Worms, Warminster.
John Worms, ditto.
William Pardoe.
Nicholas Smith.
John Edwards.
John Collier.
Henry Coles, Bridgwater.
Richard Bluecock, Stokegursey.
Henry Ireton.
John Cragg, alias Smith.

Mrs. Mary Jennings.
James Hooper.
John Bennet.
Joseph Gatch.
William Thompson, London.
Humphry Aldwin, ditto.
Thomas Love, alias Alexander, ditto.
Richard Tucker, Bishop's Hull.
William Crab, Ashill, Gent.
Francis Gough, ditto.
Francis Vaughan, Criston, Esq.
Lawrence French, Chard.
Edward Matthews, Lincoln's Inn, Esq.
Hugh Cross, sen., Bishop's Hull.
Samuel Bernardiston.
Benedick Hack, Culliton.
Henry Quick, Upottery.
John Combe, Luppit.
Henry Gatchil.
Nich. Hore.
George Pippen, Dulverton, Gent.
Abraham Cairie, Taunton.
John Huish, ditto.
Peter Terry, ditto.
Richard Raw, ditto.
Maurice Frith, Wincanton, Gent.
William Tiggens, Ford.
John Kerridge, Lyme Regis, mariner.
Robert Parsons.
Samuel Venner.
Andrew Fletcher.
John Fowke.
Robert Bruce.
Anthony Bruce.
James Fox.
Joseph Gaylard.
William Oliver.
John Woolters.
Nathaniel Hook, clerk.
Richard Lucas, Dalverton.
John Bettiscomb, near Lyme Regis.
George Stucky, White Lackington.
Thomas Saxon.
John Jesse.
George Nipe, Cheddar.
Joseph Francklyn, Worle, clerk.
Joseph Dore, late mayor of Lymington.
James Carrier, Ilminster.
Nicholas Covert, Chichester, Gent.

John Tripp, Shipham.
Joseph Hearse, Badgeworth.
Francis Creswick, Fanham, Esq.
Francis Fudge, Wedmore.
Colonel John Rumsey.
Joshua Lock, jun.
Stephen Lobb, clerk.
William Gaunt.
Ralph Alexander.
Bartholomew Vermeuyden.
Major John Manley.
Izaack Manley, his son.
Walter Thimbleton.
Aaron Smith, London, Gent.
Sir William Waller.
Slingby Bethel, Esq.
Francis Charlton, Esq.
Richard Goodenough.
Nathaniel Wade.
John Tellier.
Richard Edghill.
Samuel Story.
John Jones.
John Vincent.
George Bowyer.
John Dutton Colt.
Charles Earl of Macclesfield.
John Trenchard, Esq.
John Wildman, Esq.
Titus Oates, clerk.
Robert Ferguson, clerk.

Not to extend to those who were in actual arms who do not in three months return to their former habitations.

Truly admirable were the exertions of many devoted women at this time. How unwearied in their applications to hungry courtiers, a bloodthirsty judge, and a tribe of pardon-mongers. In many cases relatives had to thank them for their lives. There is one remarkable exception.

Reginald Tucker of Long Sutton, one of those excepted in the pardon, was sentenced to death at Wells, in March, 1687. He was reprieved by the King's order, and his estate, real and personal, given to Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who kept him in prison till December, 1688. The wife, instead of purchasing a pardon for her husband, was before his trial married to one Vaughan by means of Sir Thomas Williams, for which the King pardoned her. Tucker, after the revolution, prayed to have the sentence and attainder reversed, and a divorce from his wife *à vinculo matrimonii*, the Court of Doctors' Commons granting divorces only *à thoro et mensâ*. The matter was referred to a committee of the House of Commons. *

* Commons' Journals. May 24. 1689.

A SUMMARY OF THE NUMBERS WHO SUFFERED DURING AND AFTER THE REBELLION.

At the Bloody Assize.

	Executed.	Transported.	Fined or whipped.
Hampshire	1	...	6
Wilts	...	...	...
Dorset	74	175	9
Devon	13	7	13
Somerset	...	...	...
Taunton	144	284	5
Wells	99	383	...
Total	331	849.	33

Killed during the Rebellion.

	Monmouth-men.	King's Soldiers.
In skirmishes (estimated)	100	100
Philips Norton fight	18	80
Sedgemoor Battle	1300	400
Executed by martial law	61	
Executed by sentence of Judge Jeffreys, as above	331	
	1810	580

The numbers on both sides that died of their wounds, and that perished by disease in the several gaols, cannot be estimated. Many, perhaps most of those who were transported, did not live to return. The loss of life from these sources was doubtless very great. Grief killed numbers. Boddy's wife, who went from Lyme to Wells to endeavour to save her husband, but without success, died there of grief, or, as it is termed, of a broken heart.

The false security into which the King was lulled by the triumphant victory over the Duke of Monmouth and his party caused a more speedy development and maturing of the system and views, which the nation rejected, and which lost the monarch his throne. The blood that was thus shed was not in vain, though the

poor victims fell by the hands of those who so soon became alarmed, and deserted that King whom they had sworn to serve. Whether we decide upon calling the followers of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth martyrs or rebels is now unimportant. Many have deemed the first a just and dear-bought title due to them; and numbers were so sincere in their alarm and zeal for their religion that they in no degree deserve the less honourable appellation any more than their victors, who changed their colours to promote a successful—hence glorious—enterprise.

A LIST OF PERSONS EXECUTED, BY SENTENCE OF JUDGE JEFFREYS, WITH THE NAMES OF FIFTY PLACES WHERE THEY SUFFERED.*

At Taunton, September 30.

19.

Robert Perratt,
Henry Lisle,
Abraham Annesley,
Benjamin Hewling.
Pierce Morren,
John Fricker,
John Savage,
Abraham Matthews,
William Jenkins,
John Dryer,
John Hucker,
Jonathan England,
John Sharpe,
William Davison,
John Williams,
John Patrum,
James Whetham,
William Satchell,
John Trickey.

At Dorchester, September 7.

13.

Thomas Smith,
Samuel Hilliard,
Matthew Bragg,
Benjamin Gray,
Henry Ford,
John Game,
Joseph Speed,
George Seward,
John Fawne,
Philip Levermore,
Robert Pinney,
John Wills,
Thomas Welch.

At Lyme, September 12.

12.

Abraham Holmes.
Christopher Battiscombe,
William Hewling,
Sampson Larke,
Benjamin Temple,
Arthur Matthews,
Joseph Tyler,
William Cox,
Samuel Robins,
Josias Ascue,
John Madders,
John Kidd.

* From a list in Locke's Pamphlet of those who were executed, &c. in the Western Rebellion, collated with that in the New Martyrology, with additions by the author of this work from various sources. Harleian MS. 4689. — *Proceedings against the Rebels in the West.* London, 1716, &c.

At Shepton Mallet,
12.
Joseph Smith,
Stephen Mallet,
Thomas Pavier,
John Holdesworth,
John Gilham,
Giles Bramble,
Thomas Smith,
John Dorchester,
Richard Chinn,
William Cruse,
John Combe,
John Graves.
John Ashwood was also to have suffered, but was reprieved.

At Chard,
12.
Edward Foote,
John Knight,
William Williams,
John Jervis,
Humphrey Hitchcock,
William Godfrey,
Abraham Pill,
William Davy,
Henry Easterbrook,
James Durnett,
Edward Warren,
Simon Cross.

At Ilminster,
12.
Nicholas Collins,
Stephen Newman,
Robert Luckis,
William Kitch,
Thomas Barnard,
William Wellen,
John Parsons,
Thomas Trock,
Robert Fawne,
Weston Hillary,
John Burgen,
Charles Speke.

At Ivelchester,
12.
Hugh Goodenough.
Samuel Cox,
Osmond Barrett,
Matthew Cross,
William Somerton,
John Masters,
Edward Burford,
John Mortimer,
John Walrond,
David Langwell,
John Stephens,
Robert Townsend.

At Frome,
12.
Francis Smith,
Samuel Vile,
Thomas Warr,
Philip Usher,
Robert Beaumont,
William Clement,
John Humphreys,
Robert Man,
George Hussey,
Thomas Paul,
Laurence Lott,
Thomas Lott.

At Philips Norton,
12.
Robert Cooke,
Edward Cruse,
John Caswell,
Thomas Hayward.
John Hellyer,
Edward Beare,
Henry Partridge,
George Pether,
Thomas Pierce,
John Richards,
John Staple,
John Smith.

At Pensford,
12.
Roger Cornelius,
John Starr,
Humphrey Edmonds.
William Pierce,
Arthur Sallaway,
George Adams,
Henry Russel,
George Knight,
Robert Wine,
William Cheek,
Preston Beavis,
Richard Finnier.

At Keynsham,
11.
Charles Chappell,
Richard Bowden,
Lewis Harris,
Edward Halswell,
Howell Thomas,
George Baddy,
Henry Lawrence,
John Evans,
Andrew Rownsell,
John Phildrey,
John Winter.

At Crewkerne,
10.
John Spore,
Roger Burnell,
William Pether,
James Every,
Robert Hill,
Nicholas Adams,
Richard Stephens,
Robert Halswell,
John Bussell,
William Lashley.

At Bridgwater,
9.
Robert Francis,
Nicholas Stodgell,
William Moggridge,
John Hurman,
Richard Harris,
Richard Ingram,

Bridgwater—cont^d.
John Trott,
Roger Guppy,
Isaiah Davis.
Hugh Roper, Joshua Bellamy, and Roger Hoare, Esq., were reprieved under the gallows. The latter afterwards represented Bridgwater in several parliaments.

At Yeovil,
8.
Francis Foxwell,
George Pitcher,
Barnaby Devereux,
Bernard Thatcher,
William Johnson,
Thomas Hurford,
Edmund Gillard,
Oliver Powell.

At Wells,
8.
William Mead,
Thomas Coade,
Robert Doleman,
Thomas Durston,
John Sheppard,
Abraham Bond,
William Durston,
William Plumley.

At Somerton,
7.
William Gillet,
Thomas Lissant,
William Pocock,
Christopher Stephens,
George Condick,
Robert Allen,
Joseph Kelloway.

At Bath,
6.
Walter Baker,
Henry Body,
Gerard Bryant,
Thomas Clotworthy,
Thomas Collins,
John Carter.

At Bristol, on Redcliffe Hill,
6.
Richard Evans,
John Tincknell,
Tristram Clarke,
Edward Tippet,
Philip Cambridge,
John Glover.

At Axbridge,
6.
Jacob Tripp,
Thomas Burnell,
Thomas Hillary,
John Gill,
Thomas Munday,
John Butcher.

At Wincaunton,
6.
John Howell,
Richard Harvey,
John Tucker,
William Holland,
Hugh Holland,
Thomas Bowden.

At Minehead,
6.
Robert Jones,
Hugh Starke,
Francis Bartlett,
Peter Warren,
Simon Hawkins,
Richard Sweet.

At Glastonbury,
5.
John Hicks,
Richard Pierce,
Israel Bryant,
William Mead,
James Pyes,
John Broome was also to have been executed, but was reprieved.

At Bruton,
3.
James Field,
Humphrey Beadon,
Richard Bole.

At South Petherton,
3.
Cornelius Hurford,
John Parsons,
Thomas Davis.

At Castle Cary,
3.
Richard Ash,
Samuel Garnish,
Robert Hine.

At Langport,
3.
Humphrey Pierce,
Nicholas Venting,
John Sellwood.

At Nether Stowey,
3.
Humphrey Mitchell,
Richard Culverwell,
Merrick Thomas.

At Stogumber,
3.
George Gillard,
John Lockston,
Arthur Williams.

At Dunster,
3.
Henry Luckwell,
John Jeanes,
William Sully.

At Dulverton,
3.
John Basely,
John Lloyd,
Henry Thompson.

At Wiveliscombe,
3.
William Ruscombe,
Thomas Pierce,
Robert Combe.

At Wellington,
3.
Francis Priest,
Philip Bovet,
Robert Read.

At Wrington,
3.
Alexander Key,
David Boyce,
Joshua French.

At Chewton Mendip,
2.
Roger Prance,
William Watkins.

At Milborne Port,
2.
Archibald Johnson,
James Maxwell.

At Stogursey,
2.
Hugh Ashley,
John Herring.

At Porlock,
2.
James Gale,
Henry Edney.

At Cothelstone,
2.
Richard Bovet,
Thomas Blackmore.

THE LIST OF SUFFERERS AT THE FOLLOWING TOWNS IS SUPPLIED BY THE AUTHOR.

Exeter.
John Foweracres,
Thomas Broughton,
John Gosling.

Honiton.
John Oliver,
Henry Knight,
Samuel Potts,
John Knowles.

Axminster.
John Ross.

Colyton.
John Sprake,
William Clegg.

Crediton.
Thomas Hobbs.

Sherborne.
12.
Samuel Glisson,
Richard Hall,
John Savage.

Weymouth.
6.
Roger Satchell,
William Lancaster.

Melcombe Regis.
6.

Ottery, St. Mary.
William Parsons,
Thomas Quintin.

Wareham.
John Holloway.

Bridport,
12.
Benjamin Sandford,
John Bennet.

The following Forty-nine Persons were executed at Shaftesbury, Weymouth, Melcombe Regis, Sherborne, Poole, Wareham, Wimborne, &c. No correct List is known.

Abbott, Michael
Alston, William
Beavis, John
Beaumont, John
Bull, John
Bull, Robert,
Burridge, John
Clapp, Thomas
Collyer, George
Cooke, Thomas
Cooper, William
Dilling, William
Elliot, Tristram
Ellis, Andrew
England, Thomas
Evans, ——
Forte, Thomas
Hardyman, William
Harte, William
Hartley, John
Hawley, Adam
Hayes, John
Hoare, Nicholas
Jackson, Leonard
Jenkins, Thomas
Lawrence, John
Lee, John
Leggatt, Edward
Leggatt, John
Machell, Robert
Mangell, William
Martin, William
Puckeridge, George
Pulling, John
Quintin, William
Restorick, Josias
Robins, John
Rowe, Henry
Salter, Robert
Skinner, Francis
Slade, Robert
Smith, George
Thatcher, Robert
Tozer, Andrew
Tyler, Thomas
Waldron, Samuel
Watts, Henry
Whorwood, Robert
Wilmot, George.

It seems to have been the fate of James II. that events of the most auspicious promise should prove the most disastrous to him. His tyranny appeared consolidated by the death of Monmouth; but the weaker rival only was removed, and his conduct now estranged the nation. The occurrences of the scene of the rebellion now demand our attention.

Sunderland wrote to the Duke of Beaufort, May 1. 1686, to let the mayor and magistrates of Bristol know that he is displeased at their having committed a priest who was officiating with seven others; and that Sir John Knight was the informer, with whose carriage he has been displeased on many occasions; and to beg them not to let Sir John Knight draw them in to their inconvenience.*

His Majesty was at Bristol, 25th of August, with the Prince of Denmark, where the Duke of Beaufort joined

* State Paper Office. Lord Sunderland's Papers, ii. 332. Chilton Priory.

them, and they proceeded westward in company. A gentleman* writes, that when a boy he was informed by several of the old inhabitants of Chedzoy that the year after the fight James II. arrived at Bridgwater, and the next day sent to the Westonians to inform them that he intended to visit the field of battle and some of the adjoining parishes. Upon which notice was given to the parish officers of Chedzoy, to lay a *slape* (sleeper), or temporary bridge, over the Manor rhine, ditch, or drain: but the King leaped his horse over at some distance from this temporary bridge, which the old people attributed to his fear lest gunpowder might have been concealed beneath. There appears in an old book of churchwardens' accounts the following entry: — "Paid for laying of the slape when the King was here." The Rev. Mr. Axe had the honour of reading his account of the rebellion to the King, who did him the favour to mention some additional particulars. All this information has been embodied in these pages as the *Axe Papers*.

The King purposed to visit the West, even so far as Devonshire, in the following year, 1687. Sunderland informed the Duke of Beaufort, August 9., that the King intended to make a progress, but did not expect the militia to be drawn together to receive him, being willing to excuse the county from that trouble and charge. His Majesty expected the lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and gentlemen who lived near the parts he should visit, to attend him.† The Queen went to Bath: the King, after giving the Pope's nuncio a solemn reception at Windsor, set out, and from Salis-

* W. Stradling, Esq.

† State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers, 380.

bury went round to Chester. He perceived a visible coldness in the nobility and gentry who attended, rather as a matter of duty than affection; while many staid at home, and others pretended business, which took them out of their counties. The King was very obliging to all that came near him, most particularly to the DISSENTERS, and to those who had passed long under the notion of commonwealth men. He looked very graciously to all that had been of the DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S PARTY!!*

* Burnet.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DISSENTERS OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND, THEIR PERSECUTION, AND THAT OF NONCONFORMISTS GENERALLY, ETC.

Majority of townsmen in the West of England are Dissenters. — The West is a manufacturing district. — Monmouth depends upon the Dissenters. — They are severely persecuted. — What imprisonment formerly was. — How to account for the persecution. — Dissenters connected with political movements. — High churchmen and Roman Catholics on the same side. — Cruel persecution of Protestants. — Main business of magistrates to punish Nonconformists, — Extracts from a justice-book. — Remarkable acts and laws against Dissenters. — Corporation Act. — Act of Uniformity. — Act against seditious conventicles. — Five Mile, or Oxford Act. — Second act for preventing and suppressing seditious conventicles. — Test Act. — Other curious particulars. — Immunities, under six heads, granted to two Nonconformist ministers by James II. — A man will not keep Charles the Martyr's day. — Aggravating language of the day. — Dissenting places of worship licensed in 1672. — Historical account of the subject. — Origin of field conventicles. — Historical anecdotes. — First disturbance of the dissenting meetings. — Flight of field conventicles. — First pulling down the pulpits and pews of meeting-houses. — Authenticated burnings of pulpits and pews with rejoicings, from the State Paper Office. — How Dissenters could exist amidst such persecution. — Who favoured them? — Passive obedience and non-resistance treated of. — James II. favours the Dissenters at last. — Many county families were Dissenters. — Present Dissenters not the descendants of the Dissenters of Charles's reign. — Many persons ashamed to own that their forefathers were Nonconformists. — The Ariomania. — Rigid opinions are softened down in the present day.

THE majority of the inhabitants of the towns of the three counties, Dorset, Devon, and Somerset, particularly the two last, were employed in the woollen manufactory in the reign of Charles II. The west of England was then a great manufacturing district, particularly for serges: these were supplanted in Holland by the Norwich stuffs. Somerset took a decided part in the Sab-

batarian controversy in 1633. The serge-makers, &c. were a hardy and turbulent race, and cherished a strong antipathy to Charles's government. Dr. Lingard remarks that "they were ready to rise at the call of any man who should profess to fight the battle of the Lord against popery and arbitrary power. In no part had the fanatical and anti-monarchical principles taken deeper root, and consequently as the laws then stood nowhere was a more active persecution felt." This history would be incomplete were the ecclesiastical part to be omitted. Though we agree with Ralph that it rather excites loathing than affords entertainment, still we hope that the following pages will add to the information already possessed.

The Duke of Monmouth depended upon the support of the Dissenters: this he received, which is not surprising when we consider how harassing their treatment continued to be. Their numbers were despised; but these increased when an opportunity was afforded of throwing off the mask assumed to avoid the penalties inflicted in that reign upon Nonconformists. The depth of feeling expressed in the speech and writings of the Nonconformists was great, and finds excuse only with those of a different creed, who knew what they had to undergo. Not only were they visited by exclusion from many desirable objects of men's ambition, but they felt a severe persecution that was scarcely endurable. Imprisonment, at all times a grave punishment, was terrible to the sober-minded, the sickly, and respectable, when dirt and disease awaited the crowded inmates of chambers, or rather dens, that held the promiscuous felons and victims of laws framed against nonconformity. Though the punishment of death was inflicted for one hundred and sixty different offences, the gaol-fever, the conse-

quence of neglect of air, food, and water, destroyed, even so late as 1773, more than all the public executions in the kingdom. In some instances the gaolers had to pay the window-tax, which tempted them to stop the windows. No bedding was found, so that many lay on the bare floors. Howard's description of the gaols is horrible. From the Restoration, A. D. 1660, to James II.'s declaration of liberty of conscience in 1687 more than 15,000 families of Dissenters had been ruined, and more than 5000 persons died in bonds for matters of conscience.*

There is no instance in history where men have suffered persecution on account of differences which were admitted by those who inflicted it to be of such small moment. But, supposing this to be true, it only proves what may perhaps be alleged as a sort of extenuation of these severe laws against Nonconformists — that they were merely political, and did not spring from any theological bigotry. Revenge and fear seem to have been the unmixed passions that exited the church party against those whose former superiority they remembered, and whose disaffection and hostility it was impossible to doubt.† The learned historian who wrote the foregoing lines may have added, that many elderly and old men who were decided persecutors of Dissenters in the reigns of Charles and James had been great sufferers in person and property. Monmouth stated, at the interview with the King and the Duke of York, November 25. 1683, that Dr. Owen, Mead, and Griffin, and all the considerable Nonconformist ministers, knew of the Rye-House Plot.‡ If no political matters were really introduced at the country meeting-houses, persons

* Penn's statement.

† Hallam's Constitutional History, ii. 214. ‡ Ralph.

deposed to the government that these, as well as religion, were discussed there. James Baker informed, 26th September, 1688, of a meeting held near Ilminster, at the house of one Salisbury, where the Sacrament was administered, to be true amongst themselves, and fight against all that should oppose them. In sermons the congregations were recommended to be in readiness.*

Laws suggested and passed at the Reformation against Roman Catholics were now enforced against the Nonconformists.

Of those who know that religious toleration was not always enjoyed in this country few have learned in detail what the state of things really was about this time — a period in which, as a certain writer expresses it, "Churchmen and Dissenters did not yet live comfortably together." Political differences existed. Towards the end of Charles II.'s reign the high church men and the Roman Catholics regarded themselves as on the same side in political questions, and not greatly divided in their temporal interests. Both were sufferers in the plot; both were enemies of the sectaries; both were adherents of the Stuarts. Alternate conversion had been common between them so early as since Milton made a reproach to the English universities of the converts to the Roman faith daily made within their colleges of those sheep

> "whom the grim wolf, with privy paw,
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said." †

While churchmen were charged with submission to arbitrary power and the tyranny of absolute monarchs, Dissenters were obnoxious to language in which Jeffreys inveighed against them as king-haters, rebels, and re-

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins, xiii.
† Life of Dryden, by Sir W. Scott, Bart., 318.

publicans. The age was a cruel one, and prone to inflict terrible punishments upon those who differed in religious opinion. Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were run down in England; in France matters were even horrible. In 1686, a Protestant pastor, French or foreign, was punished with death if taken. Men who assisted or harboured them were to be sent to the galleys; women to be shaved and confined: 5500 livres reward was set upon each of their heads. Death was the penalty for a Protestant taken in an assembly or act of public worship. All these details are from Roman Catholic writers, justly touched with horror at their enormity. "Twenty of the religionists were put to death at this time," say the memoirs of Noailles. "The fugitives who assembled on the mountains were pursued. A premium was offered to each parish that would give up twelve, and three or four pistoles to each soldier that brought in one. *Battues* were made through the country by the troops, just in the manner of chasing wild beasts!"*

Magistrates in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. were mainly occupied in executing the numerous laws against Dissenters. A sturdy vagrant or inordinate tipler furnished matter for an occasional entry in the minute-book of their proceedings; but the burden of all that was recorded referred to those who had incurred penalties on the score of the exercise of their religion. Among the archives of the corporation of Lyme Regis is "a register-booke of misdemeanours and punishments in the maioralitie of Mr. Robert Jones, beginning the first of October, 1683." Nearly all the entries, of which a brief abstract is presented, record persecution.

* Crowe's History of France.

(N.B. The first entry was made three months after the pulpit and seats had been destroyed).

Oct. 15. 1683. Eight persons (whose names are entered) fined for having been at a conventicle*, from 20*l.* to 5*s.* each. The document is in Latin: it is stated that some *paupertate laborant — nulla habent bona vel catalla*, &c. "They are very poor, and have no goods nor chattels, &c."

Nov. 8. 1683. Six persons, for having been at a conventicle, 15*d.* each.

Jan. 14. 168$\frac{3}{4}$. Twenty-six persons, 3*s.* each, as absentees from church for three Sundays.

Feb. 11. ——. One man, as above.

—— 28. ——. One ditto ditto.

March 1. ——. Nine persons, 1*s.* each. Absent from church one Sunday. One was sent to prison; one, promising reformation, was forgiven.

June 9. 1684. Ten, 1*s.* each, as above.

—— 23. ——. Thirty-eight, 1*s.*, as above.

Aug. 3. ——. One man, 25*s.*, for having been at a conventicle.

Jan. 12. 168$\frac{4}{5}$. Sixteen, 1*s.* each. Absent from church.

April 5. 1686. Twenty-six, 2*s.* each. Absent from church two Sundays.

Charles II., in his declaration from Breda before his

* Conventicle (a diminutive of *conventus*, an assembly); a little or secret *assembly* of persons for religious purposes who differ from the Church of England. This word was once applied to a secret cabal, or assembly of some of the monks of a convent to make a party in the election of an abbot.

restoration, has these words: — "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered unto us for the full granting that indulgence."* How the promise held forth in this declaration was performed all know.

Some slight notice of the most remarkable acts or laws relating to religion may be found interesting.

The punishing Dissenters by fine for not being at the *parish church*, and for not *receiving the Sacrament*, was by a statute of 1 Elizabeth and 3 James I. Both these were directed against the Roman Catholics.† A man was cited to the Bishops' Court at Bristol to receive the Sacrament at Easter. Being at Purl in Wiltshire, he received it there. Upon his return he was again cited before the said court, and produced a certificate, which the chancellor approved of. The minister, the famous Rev. Richard Thompson, denounced him.‡ Some persons went to church many miles from their residence, and procured a certificate of attendance, which frustrated the presentments of constables as being absent a month from their parish church.§ These were called *monthly conformists.* Two magistrates of Butterworth fined one William Carleton, 28th June, 1841, in the sum of one shilling for absence from church. The subject was brought before the House of Commons, February, 21. 1842. Thus the act appears not to have been repealed.

* Ralph.
† Burnet, Juneway Coll. State Papers.
‡ Commons' Journals, December 24. 1680.
§ State Paper Office, xv. 815.

A bill was brought in to exempt Protestant Dissenters from the penalties to which they, as well as Papists, were liable by the 35th Elizabeth in 1680. It passed both Houses; but when the King prorogued the parliament he privately ordered the clerk not to present it to him.*

Corporation Act, passed A.D. 1661, which required all persons holding office in any *corporation* to take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Established Church, to subscribe the declaration abjuring the solemn league and covenant, and the lawfulness of taking up arms upon any pretence whatever against the King. This act prevented Dissenters from serving their country in the lowest offices of trust.

The Act of Uniformity, or *St. Bartholomew's*, 1662, required all persons enjoying any preferment in the Church to declare their assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and to read a formula to that effect on the Lord's Day before the feast of *St. Bartholomew*, 24th August, on pain of deprivation. As conformity to the abjuration of the solemn league and covenant was required, those who refused were called *Nonconformist* ministers. Calamy published a list of these, with biographical notices.

Act against Seditious Conventicles, 1664, made the being present at any meeting for religious worship, except according to the usage of the Established Church, where five persons besides the family should be assembled, punishable for the first and second by a fine of three months' imprisonment; for the third, by transportation for seven years. See the second act against conventicles for further fines, &c. The Conventicle Act was ambiguously worded, and its construction was left to a

* Lord John Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.

single magistrate, who was generally very adverse to the accused.*

The Five Mile Act, or Oxford Act, or act restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations, 1665, prohibited dissenting ministers who would not take an oath similar to that imposed by the Corporation Act from approaching within *five miles* of any borough or place where they had ever preached, under a penalty of 40*l.*

The second act for preventing and suppressing seditious Conventicles, 1670, made it punishable for every person above sixteen being present at a conventicle, with a fine of five shillings for the first, and ten shillings for every subsequent offence; persons teaching or preaching in it, 20*l.* for the first, and 40*l.* for every subsequent offence. Persons suffering a conventicle in their house, 20*l.* Justices to have the power to break open doors where they are informed conventicles are held.

The *Test Act,* or for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants, 1673, required all persons in office, civil or military, to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance†, to subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation, and to take the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England‡.

In some places, owing to the presentments of the grand juries, the overseers of the poor gave no relief to any but those who were conformable to the Church of England; and the payments were made after the morning service. Absentees were excluded.

* Hallam's Constitutional History.

† Rufus Coram of Crewkerne, supposed to be a relative of the well-known Captain Thomas Coram of Lyme, the benevolent projector of the Foundling Hospital, was committed to prison February, 1682. He was premunired at the Ilchester sessions for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. — *Whiting's Persecution of Quakers.*

‡ See Constitution, Government, and Laws, and Articles on Religion, in the Pictorial History of England, iii.

The Mansion House of the City of London was built with money collected by fines levied upon Dissenters. The Bristol magistrates complained how much burdened they were by the French Protestants, who had arrived in that city, and asked for one third of the fines levied upon Dissenters to be applied to their relief, January, 1682. They had been required to send up an account of the numbers of those poor refugees, and of the charity collected, as well as to consider what neighbouring places are fittest to receive them, with respect to their handicrafts and trades, and to dispose of them accordingly. These foreign Protestants used the church at Rye from eight to ten on Sunday morning, and from twelve to two P. M.

Convictions were certified from one county to another. This was a great hardship. Instead of being placed before a magistrate who may have known him from youth, and his good character, except in the unfortunate conscientious delinquency, a Dissenter had to hear the penalty of the law assigned from a magistrate who could have no knowledge of the individual, and who therefore discharged his duty without that favour and mercy which neighbouring magistrates showed — by declaring the law as it stood.

James II. addressed a letter to the authorities in 1687, in favour of the Rev. Amos Short and the Rev. John Kerridge, Nonconformist ministers of Lyme. These learned men had suffered in various ways. The immunities they were now to enjoy I have classed under six heads. They were no longer to be persecuted or molested, — for, I., not taking, or refusing to take, the oath of allegiance and supremacy; II., or upon the prerogative writ, called the Long Writ of the Exchequer, for the penalty of twenty pounds a month; III., or other outlawries, or other writs *De excommunicato*

capiendo; IV., or for not coming to church; V., or for not receiving the Sacrament; VI., or for recusancy or exercise of their religion.*

Recent politico-religious observances, quite unconnected with any interpretation of the Scriptures, were the occasion of trouble to Dissenters. In the archives of Lyme Regis appears a complaint against a townsman, that he would not keep Charles the Martyr's day. In consequence the constables put up his shutters, which he pulled down again, alleging that he had not kept the day for six years.

The language of this time was often singularly expressive; and was used with great effect by partisans to aggravate their opponents. Sir Leoline Jenkins† preserved a letter which was sent from Scotland, which he headed "Whiggism and Treason." The writer affirms of himself, "I am a banished man from boroughs, corporations, and high places, because I will not give my vote to rob princely and precious Jesus of his right in his house (for I cannot see so far into a mill-stone as black-hooded and red-craiged rabbies); and before I consent to such a wrong to Christ, the Lord of the Temple, it is not only bonds and banishment that I will undergo (or the charges of his Grace, *i. e.* of Monmouth, as at Bothwell Bridge), but will venture my life to run the hazard of a bloody winding-sheet in the quarrel.

"I am now 'stablished in this point, that I am the more free (not I, but Christ in me) to be led from a prison, with my hands bound behind my back, and to go on my own feet to the place of execution, and take the King's merciful cut, to come off a scaffold in four quarters, so that I might be a true witness for my wronged Jesus."

* Archives of Lyme Regis, where this is enrolled. — See *Pictorial History of England.*

† State Paper Office, xvi. 739.

Churchmen called meeting-houses conventicle-houses; Dissenters applied the term steeple-houses to churches.* How few neutral terms were then in use!

Dissenting places of worship were licensed in 1672, in compliance with a declaration in favour of that body, moved by Lord Clifford. This set the parliament in a flame, who considered it an annulling the penal laws against Papists and Dissenters. The King called for the Declaration, and ordered the seal to be broken.

Dissenters joined in the movement, which appeared to be directed against the Roman Catholics; but they suffered eventually in common with them. With the bill for the Test was introduced another for ease to Protestant Dissenters. The first passed, March 20. 1673. Questions as to what description of Nonconformists the benefits should extend delayed the bill till a prorogation followed, and extinguished the hopes of relief which the Dissenters had been encouraged to cherish.† When Lord Chief Justice North and Mr. Justice Jones attended at Lord Sunderland's, the secretary of state, in 1682, previously to their setting out for the Western circuit, to know if His Majesty had any commands in particular for them, his lordship told them it was his Majesty's pleasure that they should declare to the country, in their charges, that his Majesty would have a regard to tender consciences, and that the penal laws should not be executed against Protestant Dissenters,

* From an expression used at the execution at Weymouth of Mr. Satchel of Colyton, we learn that Dissenters did not always give to Church of England ministers the title of *Protestants*. The Rev. Robert Hallet, rector of Melcombe, prayed with Mr. Satchel, and sung a psalm. Inquiring of him why he had joined the rebellion, Satchel answered, "Had you been there, and a *Protestant*, I believe you would have joined too." The word Papist was sometimes applied to members of the Church of England.

† Lingard, xii. 30.

but upon Papists only. The judges declared the laws as they were in force, without any distinction, and paid no attention to the directions of the King.* North, the lord keeper, was a great opposer of Dissenters. In 1684 a measure of relief for Roman Catholics and Dissenters was patronised by the Duke of York. According to a preconcerted plan, Judge Jeffreys placed on the council-table a huge mass of papers, rolls of the names of convicted recusants, which he had collected during the last circuit. It would be an act of mercy to restore those prisoners for conscience-sake to air and liberty, and on that account he recommended the subject to the royal consideration. North defeated the measure, by representing that among the recusants were many Nonconformists, men hostile by principle to the monarchy; and if it were wished to show favour to any of the Catholic recusants, it might be done by particular pardons.†

Many readers will readily excuse a notice respecting the origin of field-conventicles in the west of England, embodying as it does information never before published, from the State Paper Office.

Meeting-houses existed in the towns which were built by licences procured by certain magistrates in Lord Clifford's time, as before mentioned. When the laws were altered, Dissenters met, and then barricaded the doors, having made provision for the escape of the minister, and as many of the congregation as could do so, before the door was forced. In the year 1681, when justices of the peace visited a Dissenting meeting-house during the time of service, the preacher slipped away, and then set his congregation to sing David's psalms.

* North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford.

† North's Life, quoted by Lingard, xii. 347., and MS. in Dr. Lingard's possession.

The more the disturbing magistrates questioned those with whom they came in contact, and bade them disperse, the louder they all sang. Churchwardens and overseers in the city of London pretended, when called to act on these occasions, that they knew no one.*

In 1681 magistrates clearly hesitated to disturb, much less to pull down, the seats of meeting-houses, unless they should receive positive directions to do so from the secretary of state. Captain Gregory Alford wrote from Lyme, 30th October, 1681, that the loyal mayor was willing to suppress all meeting-houses, if the secretary would write to state that His Majesty orders him to do so.† The same loyal gentleman, and sufferer during the civil wars, proceeded to extremities three months after. So soon as the congregation had assembled in the meeting-house in George's Court, Lyme, he assailed with his constables the door, Sunday, 30th January, 1682.‡ By the time he had broken in the door, the Rev. Amos Short, the ejected vicar of the church situated above this spot, and many of the male part of the congregation, had escaped. Thirty men and eighty women remained within, to stand the gaze of the terrible magistrate, who took their names, to proceed against them "ackording to law." This magistrate wrote, "This is the head conventicle of all the country,—breaking the necke off this, the pest here will vannish away. . . . . It's great pity but that the house, or at least the seats, pulpit, and galleries, were pulled down, for I hear that the last night they had agayne a meeting there."

The ensuing Sabbath day was appointed for a similar visit to the Quakers and Anabaptists. These attacks,

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic Col., vi. art. 55.
† Ibid., vi. ‡ Ibid., vi. 279.

followed by persecutions, were not to be resisted in the then state of the laws; so we find that the Dissenters, about the middle of February, 1682, no longer assembled at their meeting-houses, but took to the field. By February 16. there had been a great conventicle meeting one mile from Lyme, within the county of Devon, and one mile and a half from Charmouth.*

Such assemblies were generally near the borders of the counties. When disturbed by militia and constables, a general flight took place into the next county. Man ever finds a post of honour! No exception can be allowed even in these prayer-meetings. The gallant and iron-limbed, beyond their fellows, stood by the minister, and, at a pinch, must often have used a real arm of flesh against, perhaps, some traitor who had joined in the psalm, till a burst of constables and other Philistines pointed out the time for action. The flight was terrible where rivers had to be crossed. The Dissenters of Bristol were met, 20th April, 1683†, in the bottom of a common, when their field-conventicle was disturbed. The Avon had to be crossed. In the frightful confusion the preacher was nearly drowned,—a fate which one poor man did not escape!

Such were the perils and excitement of these field-conventicles, which were at first resorted to for privacy and immunity from interruption, when meeting-houses really stood ready to receive the frequenters of them. We have read that it was a pity but that the house, at least the seats, pulpit, and galleries, were pulled down belonging to the meeting-house at Lyme. Soon after this began the destruction by pulling down, and some-

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, vi. 371. Captain G. Alford states there had been meetings here for four years past.

† Ibid., ii. 153.

times burning, the pulpits and seats of the meeting-houses in the West. Then the dells and retired parts of the country were visited as the only places that remained for public worship. The circumstances of the destruction of the interior of the meeting-houses and the dates vary, according to the persecution and local particulars. Mr. Strode, of Parnham, near Beaminster, an ancestor of the present Sir William Oglander, approved himself "a very zealous, loyal person at Lyme Regis," July 7. 1683. He missed the preacher, but destroyed all the seats and pulpit of the meeting-house there, and then proceeded to Bridport, and did the same work of destruction in that town.* Calamy† must have been led into a great error in stating that this Colonel Strode prevented the populace from doing mischief. The Bishop of Bristol wrote to request that the government would send Mr. Strode a letter of encouragement, which "would be of great use." At Bury St. Edmund's the meeting-houses were frequented, and no molestation was offered. The Archbishop of Canterbury directed the justices to disturb the conventicles, 28th February, 1683.‡

Lord Stawell proceeded to Bridgwater to search for arms, July 6. 1683, and was doubtless provided with a militia-party. Having performed what was only an introductory piece of duty, his lordship soon arrived at the main business — the destruction of the interior of the meeting-house. He, with his customary bad spelling, wrote of having "found the House of Worship, which was sooner pluckt down than built, and so ought to have been all the phanatick houses in Bridgwater, if they had had the least incouragement, for they

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic Coll., vi. 207.
† Nonconformists' Memorial. ‡ State Paper Office.

were all able workmen. The materialls of the conventicles were carried upon the Cornhill, which made a bonfire fourteen foot high, a topp of which was placed the pulpit and cushing. Wee only wanted the levit to have given us a farewell sermon: there were some gentlemen of the country that came into us. . . . . We stood round the bonfire, and healths were not wanting." His lordship adds, "The mittig hows was made rown like a cock-pit, and ould hold sum 400 parsons."

Bishop Mews, writing to the secretary of state a week after this exploit, mentions that, he left Lord Stawell with a bad tooth-ache, and his assurance that he had an aching tooth against the rebels.*

The above example of ultimate vengeance was imitated at Taunton, August 11. The mayor, Stephen Tymewell, having sacked the interior of the great meeting-house called Poche, and the Baptist one on the same day, described the affair in the language of exultation: — "We burnt ten cartloads of pulpit, doors, gates, and seats, upon the market-place. We staid till three in the morning, before all were burnt. We were very merry. The bells rung all night. The church is now full; — thank God for it. The fanaticks dare not open their mouths."† Only three weeks after the mayor wrote that the Dissenters still met; and on the 22d of September he reported, that on the last Sunday there were meetings in seven or eight places in private houses.† His final triumph over private conventicles was reserved for the next year.

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, xii.

† State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins, xiii. The events above recorded are referred to in a work written expressly on the subject, as having taken place after the rebellion. It is stated that the building was allowed to remain, though not without an attempt to convert it into a workhouse. — *March's History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches.*

The Dissenters were so morally certain of these visitations, that they anticipated matters; and, like the ancients, spoiled a triumph. They actually pulled down their pulpits and seats themselves, before the party who were bent upon their destruction could arrive. A case is described to the secretary of state by Lord Herbert, in a letter from Badminton, 14th January, 1682.*

How could Dissenters exist amidst such persecutions? The favour of some magistrates was shown them, either arising from an inclination to their religious tenets, or from sheer pity. Such were denounced to the secretary of state by their brother magistrates. William Ellesdon, Esq., of Charmouth, stands charged with discouraging informations against Nonconformists; — giving one-third of a fine received upon the conviction of the Rev. J. Brice, the Nonconformist minister of Charmouth, to that very individual; and not preventing field-conventicles, when informed where they were holden.† The gentlemen of the country, or Whig party, though much depressed as a political body, could individually, in many cases, assist Dissenters. Most of the gentlemen who received the Duke of Monmouth in his western progress entertained a Nonconformist minister. Mrs. Trenchard was taken by the mayor of Taunton at the meeting-house shortly before its destruction.‡ North§ speaks of this favour to dissenting ministers in his party language: — "The whole list of the faction set themselves to encourage them (Nonconformists); and, for example to others, for the most part gave attendance themselves; though Puritanism sat but scurvily upon their complexions." This, the same writer deemed a factious

* State Paper Office, vi. 232.
† Ibid., vi. 207.
‡ Ibid. Sir L. Jenkins, xv.
§ Examen, 344.

use of conventicles. Nonconformist ministers were secure, apart from the law, among the lower orders of the Established Church, who required their services on particular occasions — to lay troublesome demons that haunted houses, disturbed neighbourhoods, and kept numbers in fear and agitation. In Somersetshire the people called none to their assistance but the nonconforming ministers.*

There is stated to have been 1149 Quakers in prison, 26th October, 1683. In Bristol alone lay 120, when the small-pox and spotted-fever raged around. The Quakers were much engaged in the manufacture of serge. The thirty-eight men and four women that lay at this time in Exeter gaol used to employ 500 sergemakers, who were now thrown out of work.†

The last victory over the Dissenters of Taunton dates from 21st January, 1684. The mayor, Mr. Stephen Tymewell, reported that, since demolishing the public meeting-house, he had taken nine private conventicles, and made records thereof, and intended to do the like to the rest as soon as he could; so that he did not hear of any conventicles in that place.

A person possessed of little information, who once read a translation of Magna Charta, was surprised at his countrymen's so praising such a composition; nor could he understand how so much important matter could be contained in it. This is not surprising, if we learn that he was not possessed of much knowledge of the history of those times, the state of society, the laws, &c. Is it not precisely so with the ever-recurring sen-

* Rev. A. Paschall. App. to Sergeant Heywood's Vindication of Fox.

† State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins, xiv.

tence, at this period, PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and NON-RESISTANCE? We read of melancholy scenes, — of parents led to execution — of children standing by, and of divines being present as assistants to those who were going in a few short minutes to their great account. The great points of a Christian's faith and hope are not mentioned. These give place to a politico-religious dogma as to the doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance. Is it possible that these words are a condensation or summary of all our religious duties on such an occasion, and at so mournful a scene? These surely appeared the most important for the soul's welfare, as they were introduced at melancholy occasions, when there was time for nothing else. How this could be, and what these words mean, require to be explained.

The divine right of kings originally made no part of the law or constitution of England; and our most ancient writers derive the rights to the possession of the crown and its prerogatives from no higher authority than the law. Upon this foundation rested the rights of the sovereigns of England until the Reformation. Henry VIII. usurped the power, which many princes on the Continent had submitted to, claimed by the Pope, and caused a work to be sent forth, the "Institution for the necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," about 1533, sometimes called the "Bishop's Book." In another publication, the "Obedience of a Christian Man," it is asserted, "that the Kyng is in this world without lawe, and may at hys luste do ryght or wronge, and shall gyve accompte, but to God onely."*

* Sergeant Heywood's account of the growth and opposition to this opinion in his defence of Fox, 250.

Charles I. was educated in the highest prerogative doctrines; and in the defence of these lost his crown and life. The divine appointment of kings, and the sanctity of their persons as the Lord's anointed in consequence, were assumed in the practice of touching for the King's Evil. The scriptural authority rests upon Titus iii. 1. While on the one hand the Church of England insisted much upon this doctrine, Dissenters disowned the duty of passive obedience to power when they considered that was abused, and the King's command was not only against law, but against divine law. Hence the discussions under the gallows at executions. The oath of non-resistance in the Five Mile Act declared it unlawful on any pretence whatever to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him; and that the person taking it would not at any time endeavour to make any alteration in church or state.

The country party ridiculed the divine right. Bishop Mews produced an informer, October 31. 1683, who deposed that Mr. John Trenchard had said "he saw no reason why the family of the Trenchards should not be kings of England as well as the family of the Stuarts."*

Sibthorp, vicar of Brackley, in an assize sermon preached at Northampton, in the reign of Charles I., chose the text, "Render, therefore, to all their dues." Rom. xiii. 7. He told the people that even if the prince, the anointed of the Lord, should command a thing contrary to the laws of God or of Nature, still the subjects were bound to submit to the punishment, only praying secretly that Heaven might turn the prince from the error of his ways, but offering no resistance,

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, xiv.

no railing, no reviling—nothing but a passive obedience. His great proof for all this was a verse in Ecclesiastes viii. 4., "Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him what doest thou?"* Laud, in 1640, had summoned a convocation of the clergy, who enacted, among other new constitutions, that every clergyman should instruct his parishioners, once a quarter, in the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resistance to authority.

In 1665 the high church party brought in a bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance upon the whole nation. But for an accident this bill would have passed. The pastoral charges and sermons rolled in thunder upon the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience in subjects.

Bishop Morley, with his dying breath, charged Lord Dartmouth with his warning to James, not to depend on the church doctrine of non-resistance, if the Church were called upon to practise it herself. James replied, that "the bishop was a good man, but grown old and timid." He appears to have known his own order much better than the King.† Two hundred clergymen only out of ten thousand were *obedient*. James II. was astonished at the resistance of a church which inculcated passive obedience in its homilies, its decrees, and its preaching. The noble stand made by the bishops greatly contributed to the happy expulsion of the wretched dynasty, the Stuarts.

The declaration of toleration and liberty of conscience was published in April 1687. The King by this declared all his subjects equally capable of employments, and suppressed all oaths or tests that limited this.

* See Pictorial History of England, iii. 124.

† Note D. in Burnet, ii. 440.; cited also in Dalrymple's Appendix.

It gave great offence to the whole church party. The Dissenters, in their addresses, pleased the Court, particularly when these contained reflections upon the clergy and their proceedings. The King made the cruelty of the Church of England the common subject of discourse; reproached them for setting on so often so violent a persecution of the Dissenters, and for restraining him from not sooner publishing the toleration, offering to show favour to those of his religion, provided they might be allowed to vex the Dissenters. To carry this further, James ordered an inquiry into all the vexatious suits into which Dissenters had been brought in the Ecclesiastical courts, and into all the compositions they had been forced to make to purchase immunity from further trouble.*

Many county families in Dorset, Devon, and Somerset were Nonconformists in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., who are now of the Church of England. Many who suffered in the cause left descendants who are zealous advocates of Episcopacy.

The Dissenters of the present century are not, with a few exceptions, descendants of the Dissenters of James's reign. These have become warm Episcopalians: many of them are church clergymen; the others are of more recent creation. To this circumstance is to be attributed the very remarkable, indeed extraordinary, want of local information respecting the sad scenes of the rebellion of 1685 to be procured. There has not continued a body of Dissenters to hand down the traditions. They have, as they advanced in worldly means, or in other words, in proportion as fortune smiled, become Churchmen, and disliked to connect themselves and

* Burnet.

family with the generation that preceded them,—the opinions, perhaps, in some degree, the station in life, the doings, and, to many more odious than all, the hangings. Others became Unitarians, of which more will be said. A few years ago these remarks were more strikingly applicable than at the present time. The reminiscences now partake more of an historical than a disgraceful character in the minds of many descendants of the parties. Still many—having been accustomed to hear a connection with the Dissenters of Charles and James's reign treated as a disgrace, owing in some degree to the execution of Charles I. and the events of that era—are slow to acknowledge or to speak of their nonconformist forefathers. Many members of some county families are positively ignorant of their family having been Dissenters; they really believe they can say of their ancestors, *Neque in his quisquam damnatus et exul.*—OVID.

What has been said of individuals of the present day—that they are not descendants of the Dissenters of the reign of the Stuarts—applies with equal truth to the meeting-houses, the interests and endowments of the dissenting body in the west of England. These date, for the most part, from the last and present centuries. The old meeting-houses, frequented by the original Dissenters, and the endowments of the Presbyterians belonging to them, are in very many towns possessed by Unitarians. The great spread of Arian opinions in the west of England, called the Ariomania in the history of Dissenters*, took place in the reigns of Anne and George I.

A detailed account of the persons under whose

* Bogue and Bennet.

ministry the change of sentiments took place, which has produced the state of things here described, may be found in the "History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England, &c., by Jerom Murch. 8vo. London, 1835." The Independent and Baptist congregations are in many cases numerous where the Unitarian (the old Presbyterian) interest exists, and retains the endowments with a very inconsiderable number of members. This is considered by the "orthodox" Dissenters to be a grievance. The recent interference of the legislature is well known.

In addition to the causes assigned for the changes in the dissenting congregations at the beginning of the last century should be mentioned the stop put to the spirit of persecution. When there was no longer martyrdom to be earned, or sufferings to be endured, the bond of union was slackened.

Time has softened down some rigid opinions. Musical accompaniment to singing in the chapels (now so called, whereas they were never stiled other than meeting-houses) is almost universal. Other peculiar marks of distinction have disappeared; and all denominations of Christians live happily together in the enjoyment, to its fullest extent, of liberty of conscience.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHANGES IN THE FACE OF THE COUNTRY, MANNERS, TRAVELLING, ETC.

Changes in the face of the country. — Our ancestors were without roads. — They had only lanes. — No newspapers. — Persons made their will before going from home. — Men drowned in the lanes near Taunton. — Riding on horseback to London. — Inferiors walked. — Distance of the metropolis in point of time. — Fare. — Those recently arrived from town assumed airs. — Road-side inns. — The advantages of frequenting these discussed. — Ignorance. — Anecdote of a journey from Falmouth to London. — "Sherborne Mercury" newspaper. — Pack-horses. — Bells. — Pillions. — Gentlemen farmed. — White wizards. — Picksies. — Brutal street-rows. — Improved state of society in the present day.

MUCH may be written upon the state of the country, and more particularly of the west of England, that may not only prove amusing but illustrative. Great changes in the face of the country have taken place: and how can such obtain without a corresponding effect being produced on the inhabitants? We are all creatures that take our tone and character from the medium in which we vegetate: alter this, and we are straightways changed or modified.

Our ancestors were without roads. They had lanes, and those were very narrow. They were shut out by disabilities from the seat of government, the centre of knowledge and intellect; in other words, it was much more remote, — London was in effect a very distant city. There were no newspapers! no direct communication with the metropolis. The perils, setting aside the labouring through so many lanes, were great. Highwaymen,

and the crossing rivers unknown, or partially so, to the country traveller, when the waters were high, justify the constant practice of making a will before setting out. The roads in the neighbourhood of Taunton were not only narrow, but deep in water. The floods were frequently so high as to prevent persons from travelling; and some were occasionally drowned. Thomas Prowse, Esq. made the House of Commons laugh by undertaking to prove that the roads in 1752 were in so bad a state that it would be no more expense to make them navigable than fit for carriages.* Professional men, like the judges, rode to town; tradesmen rode and tied when they could not walk: all contrived to form a party. Some of these pedestrians were a week between Lyme Regis and London; nearly the same from Taunton. As the Germans refer to the distance of objects by so many hours, and even one or two pipes (*i. e.* the time required for smoking them), so the metropolis may be said to have been distant one week from these places, and to have been of late brought within ten and seven hours of them. There was, in addition to this remoteness, little communication. The archives of Bridgwater record an order for the ringing of the bells for joy that Cromwell was made Protector nineteen days after the event had taken place.†

The Taunton stage, when set up, took four days to reach London. Many having this convenience ceased to keep horses. When the passengers arrived at night at an inn, they clubbed together for a dish or two of meat, and spent not above twelve pence or sixteen pence at a place. Forty shillings was the fare to town from Exeter in summer; forty-five shillings in winter: four

* Savage's edition of Toulmin's History of Taunton, *566.*

† Robert Anstice, Esq. communicated this anecdote.

coachmen, at a shilling each, came to four shillings, and three shillings for each passenger's share of drink to the coachmen. The croakers prophesied that great evils would arise from the setting up of stage-coaches; no good hackneys would be bred; and that the agricultural interest would suffer. Twelve days was the usual stay made in London by those who went upon business.* Ladies rode behind their servants upon horses trained to carry a pillion.

Persons upon their safe return from London were apt to assume ridiculous airs and superiority over their fellows who had not drunk in political chit-chat like themselves in the city coffee-houses. Inns by the road side were amusing places of resort for the residents of country towns, and even the clergyman of the parish. The travellers who arrived dispensed the latest news to a craving company, who had no other means of learning what then agitated the great Babel, and the other parts of the kingdom. Many a "little great man" was taught how to conduct himself among the strangers at a tavern, who now-a-days only remains in his family, or returns a visit in private company, and so passes year after year without those salutary checks and sarcasm which overbearing manners, purse-pride, and folly require for their correction. The bounds of temperance were too often passed, owing to frequenting in public company the coffee-houses and taverns; still other moral good effects were derived from them, if we cannot go the length to style them "the academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity."† The excitement for news, and readiness

* Savage's edition of Toulmin's History of Taunton, 603., who quotes a pamphlet published in 1673.

† The Character of a Coffee-house vindicated. Fol., Harleian Miscellany.

to ring bells for joy, or take hasty measures in another way upon hearing some idle report from travellers, forcibly recalls to mind the account Cæsar gives in his Commentaries of the volatile Gauls. These compelled travellers to stop and tell them what they had heard or known in the way of news, and as no doubt often occurred in our west of England, the news furnished by parties so arrested on their journey was in strict consonance with the known feelings and wishes of the inquirers.

There was great ignorance prevailing in Charles II.'s reign. Few could read and write. In a pamphlet describing the Isle of Serk, in 1673, the writer mentions that the judge's son is "a person that has the gift of writing, and learning enough to read the obligation of a bond." Cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and bowling were great pastimes. An anecdote connected with this subject will prove this.

A family about to embark at Falmouth in 1748 hired a coach and horses in London as now-a-days on the Continent; the driver looked out for a job back again.

A party of young men availed themselves of the opportunity, stipulating that in the event of their reaching a town at any part of the day where cock-fighting should take place in the evening the coach should lie by for them.*

About the same time a newspaper, the "Sherborne Mercury," was set up; and the newsmen carried it into Cornwall, where persons assembled in a gentleman's hall weekly to hear it read.*

Goods were conveyed across the country on pack-horses, which went in strings. Horses had bells attached

* Davies Gilbert's History of Cornwall, p. 191.

to their heads to warn travellers coming in a different direction. Respectable females travelled behind their husbands and servants on a pillion.

Gentlemen lived in all directions in houses now occupied by farmers who rent the land. The ancestors of the present owners kept a hind and farmed themselves. Their descendants now live in towns, and often know nothing of the people among whom their estate lies. Many houses lay vacant from being universally considered to be haunted. No one would venture to occupy them. A belief in witches was general. In consequence white witches or wizards were consulted at considerable cost of time in journeying, and money, in order to furnish methods for averting the evil eye. Many natural causes were attributed to the agency of the picksies, or fairies. Few, perhaps, of all who joined Monmouth had not their fortunes told by the cards or some astrological diagram.

Without any allusion to societies, or to the extremes of temperance movements, we may congratulate ourselves on the universal self-restraint and sobriety of the present age, compared with the one under consideration. The latter is described as a "mad roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk."* In the country conviviality was almost inseparable from drunkenness: hospitality was not supposed to exist without intemperance. No comparison can be fairly instituted in the moral bearing of mankind at the two periods. During the first a universal corruption, immorality, irreligion, and indecency obtained among public men. King Charles's "interior cabinet was com-

* Burnet.

posed of men such as that generation, and that generation alone produced, — of men at whose audacious profligacy the renegades and jobbers of our time look with the same sort of admiring despair with which our sculptors contemplate the Theseus and our painters the cartoons." *

In other parts of this work are recorded remarkable instances of personal violence which abounded at this era. After the trial of Lord Grey for the seduction of his wife's sister, the parties drew their swords upon each other, and numbers were fighting by the door of the assize-hall. The street-rows were shockingly brutal, and in many cases extremely cowardly.

* Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF REMARKABLE CHARACTERS;

CONTAINING SO MUCH OF THEIR LIVES ONLY AS REFERS TO THE PERIOD OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S CAREER.*

THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLE. — THE EARL OF ARGYLE, AND HIS EXPEDITION. — WILLIAM CHIFFINCH. — DUKE OF GRAFTON. — ROBERT FERGUSON. — LORD GREY, OF WERK. — DR. MEWS. — SIR WILLIAM PORTMAN. — THE PROUD DUKE OF SOMERSET. — MEMOIR OF THE SPEKE FAMILY. — JOHN TRENCHARD. — LADY HENRIETTA MARIA WENTWORTH.

"History separated from biography is an inexplicable riddle; for in the individual characters of rulers and princes, in their passions, interests, and good and bad principles, can alone be traced the springs of the outward and visible actions which History records." — *Tytler.*

A BRIEF memoir of the family of ARGYLE will serve to introduce a short account of the Scotch expedition in 1685, undertaken in concert with that of Monmouth.

ARCHIBALD the Eighth EARL OF ARGYLE, better known as the Marquis of Argyle, the head of the ancient and warlike name of Campbell, was a nobleman of considerable importance in the history of his time. The high office of Justiciary of Scotland had been for centuries hereditary in his family. He surrendered this dignity to the King in 1628, and up to 1633 he was in high favour with the court; but having discovered a project for the partition of his patrimonial estates amongst his hereditary enemies the M'Donalds,

* For further particulars, and subsequent fate of many individuals, see Ch. XXXV. SEQUEL TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

as a reward for the Earl of Antrim's invasion from Ireland, he naturally embraced a course of politics hostile to the government. When Charles I. visited Scotland in 1641, it was deemed advisable to conciliate his enemies by every means in his power, and Argyle was elevated to the dignity of a Marquis. In 1664, Montrose, his personal enemy, ravaged his lands in the depth of and amidst the snows of winter.

The Marquis of Argyle was the great chief of the Covenanters. His son, Lord Lorn, afterwards the EARL OF ARGYLE, claimed the merit of a constant opposition to the Commonwealth and Cromwell, hastened to court to congratulate the Sovereign (Charles II.); and the Marquis himself wrote to the King to ask leave to come and wait upon him. To seize this victim among his mountains, and the clans devoted to him, was a difficult matter, and therefore Charles replied in a seemingly friendly manner. Upon that Argyle posted to Whitehall, where, being denied admittance, he was seized and sent to the Tower as a traitor and regicide; it being asserted he had encouraged the Commonwealth-men to put the late King to death. The Marquis was sent down to Scotland to be tried by the men who were thirsting for his blood. He was charged, in thirty articles, with all possible treasons and crimes, the charges beginning with the rising of the Covenanters in 1638, and ending with the sitting in Cromwell's parliament in 1659.

When the trial was in progress the Lord Lorn (afterwards the Earl of Argyle, Monmouth's associate) obtained a letter from the King, ordering that the Lord Advocate should not insist upon any offences committed previously to 1651, when the present King Charles II. had given his indemnity, which of course included

every thing relating to his father's trial. The Earl of Middleton, the King's commissioner for holding the parliament, procured that the order from Charles II. (that when the trial was ended the whole process should be submitted to him before the parliament gave sentence) should be set aside. The Marquis was beheaded at the Market Cross, Edinburgh. He exclaimed, "I placed the crown upon his head; and this is my reward." When Charles was crowned at Scone, in 1651, Argyle really did place the crown upon his head; and it was believed that he would soon be the King's father-in-law. (See the Pictorial History of England for a woodcut of the execution.) It is said that he might have been so, but he was convinced the King was estranged from him; and, regarding every offer as a snare, prudently declined so brilliant an alliance, and obtained permission to retire to his estates.

The Marquis of Argyle's son was ARCHIBALD EARL OF ARGYLE, who had in his youth been strongly attached to the royal cause, and had refused to lay down his arms till he had the exiled King's positive orders for that purpose. But the merit of his early services could neither save the life of his father, nor even procure for himself a complete restitution of his family honours and estates. Not long after the Restoration, upon an accusation of leasing-making, an accusation founded, in this instance, upon a private letter to a fellow subject, in which he spoke with some freedom of his Majesty's Scottish ministry, he was condemned to death. The sentence was suspended, and finally remitted; but not till after an imprisonment of twelve months and upwards. In this affair he was much assisted by the friendship of the Duke of Lauderdale, with whom he ever afterwards lived upon terms of friendship, though his principles would not permit him

to give active assistance to that nobleman in his government of Scotland. Accordingly we do not find during that period Argyle's name among those who held any of those great employments of state to which, by his rank and consequence, he was naturally entitled. When James, then Duke of York, was appointed to the Scotch government, it seems to have been the Earl's intention to cultivate his Royal Highness's favour: he was a strenuous supporter of the bill which condemned all attempts at exclusions, or other alterations in the succession of the Crown. But having highly offended that Prince by insisting, on the occasion of the Test, that the royal family, when in office, should not be exempted from taking that oath, which they imposed upon subjects in like situations, his Royal Highness ordered a prosecution against him for the explanation with which he had taken the Test oath at the council board; and the Earl was, as we have seen, again condemned to death. The Scotch Parliament, in an address, styled him "an hereditary traitor." From the time of his escape from Edinburgh Castle, which was contrived by Lady Sophia Lindsay*, his son's wife, he resided wholly in foreign countries, and was looked to as a principal ally by such of the English patriots as had at any time entertained thoughts, whether more or less refined, of delivering their country.†

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, a political sufferer and exile, accompanied the Earl of

* Argyle desired to see Lady Sophia Lindsay; disguised himself as that lady's page, and succeeded in following her out of the Castle. It was proposed in the council, that for this offence Lady Sophia should be whipped through the streets of Edinburgh; but James cut short the discussion by remarking that they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in his country. — *Life of James I.*, 710.

† Charles Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II., 173.

Argyle, and wrote a narrative of his expedition*, which has with truth been called an ill-concerted and ill-fated one. Unlike his associate, the Duke of Monmouth, Argyle, from his assuming airs, was, from the first, engaged in angry contentions with his brother exiles who joined him in Holland; he usurped the direction of every arrangement, and kept the party in ignorance of his plans, the time for setting out, and even the place of landing, which appears the more strange when we learn that he had not been chosen general, but had assumed that post.

The Earl of Argyle, probably from the promises of an astrologer, who had cast his nativity, asserted his ability to raise 15,000 men, while the Scotch of his party doubted the procuring 3000.

Argyle's three ships, the Anna, the Sophia, and the David, sailed from the Vly, May 1., and left, with a fair wind, at 7 P. M. May 2. Being off Orkney, May 6., Dr. Blackadder and Spence, the Earl's secretary, went ashore, and were seized at Kirkwall, by the Bishop's order. The government had time, when the expedition was sailing round to Argyleshire, to call out the whole posse of Scotland, amounting to 22,000 men. Argyle's second son landed at Dunstafnage, in Lorn, with orders for all the vassals, from sixteen to sixty years of age, to join with all their useful arms and two week's loan, under pain of military execution. The clan symbol--the Fiery Cross—was sent round.† Several would not come near the earl's son, Charles Campbell; and his letter to one laird was sent to the government.

* Appended to "Observations on the Historical Work of the late Right Honourable Charles James Fox," by the Right Honourable George Rose, 4to. London, 1809.

† This mode, by which the highland chieftains convoked their clans to arms, is of greater antiquity than their conversion to Christianity. An-

When the expedition had reached Cambletown, in Cantyre, the force landed, and Argyle published two declarations — one in his own name, complaining of his own wrongs; the other setting forth that the miseries of the nation arose out of a breach of the Covenant; that the King had forfeited the crown by the crimes of popery, prelacy, tyranny, and fratricide; and that he was come to suppress alike prelacy and popery. His standard bore this inscription, "Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism."*

It were tedious to trace the marches of Argyle's force, and the disappointments and dissensions that ensued. The common Highlanders neither understood nor valued the cause which the expedition advocated; but came mostly to obtain the new arms, and then run away with them. This reliance of the Earl on the attachment of his clansmen was a vain one: his aim was to clear his own country of the enemy, while his associates demanded to be led into the western counties, so long the theatre of religious persecution. Ere this point of controversy was settled, the King's fleet arrived on the coast. Argyle's vessels were taken through the Kyles of Bute, a remarkably narrow passage, and his stores

ciently the chieftain killed a goat with his own sword, and dipped a half-burnt stick in the blood. A slight pole, with a bit of stick infixed in the figure of a cross was afterwards, at the will of the priests, perhaps, substituted. — *Howell's State Trials.*

* Erastianism is the opinion of the Erastians, or followers of Erastus, a learned physician of Heidelberg, promulgated in the sixteenth century, — that the civil magistrate ought to have supreme power over all churches within his dominions in all cases whatsoever, and that it is not convenient that offences against religion and morality should be punished by the censures of the Church, especially by excommunication. Mr. Hallam writes that the ecclesiastical constitution of England is nearly Erastian in theory, and almost wholly so in practice. Every sentence of the spiritual judge is liable to be reversed by a civil tribunal, the court of delegates, by virtue of the King's supremacy over all causes.

deposited in the castle of Ellengreg. The King's ships, under Sir Thomas Hamilton, followed; when, without firing a shot, the earl's vessels, 5000 stand of arms, 300 barrels of powder, and the Earl's standard, were captured.

On June 16. the force marched from Loch Gare, and crossed the Leven above Dunbarton, having spent five weeks in the Highlands to no purpose. Strong parties of regulars and militia presented themselves in all directions: his force dwindled from 2000 to 500 men. Argyle withdrew, and was taken, with his faithful associate, Fullarton, at a ford of the Caill at Inchcanan, after a scuffle, in which he exclaimed, as he fell, "Unfortunate Argyle!" Ralph sums up his character as being an all-sufficient person, who would neither hear advice nor bear contradiction.

Argyle's defeat and execution did not cause much bloodshed. His followers were excused for following the banner of their chieftain. Some of the common prisoners were delivered to Mr. Scott and other planters in the West Indies. Forty had a piece cut out of their lugs (ears), and the women were burnt in the shoulder, that if any returned they might be known and executed.

WILL CHIFFINCH, the name of the familiar closet-keeper and page of the back stairs to King Charles and James II. He was the manager, or go-between, in the secret intrigues of the court. He figures in all the secret history of these times, and his memory has been enshrined by the pencil of a modern writer.* The following account of this character is from the life of Judge

* Sir Walter Scott, in the "Fortunes of Nigel."

Jeffreys*, an associate, who was made Recorder through Chiffinch's interest. North's "Life of Lord Keeper Guildford" is quoted.

This Mr. Chiffinch was a true secretary as well as page; for he had a lodging at the back stairs, which might have been properly termed the Spy Office, where the King spoke with particular persons about intrigues of all kinds; and all little informers, projectors, &c. were carried to Chiffinch's lodging. He was a most impetuous drinker, and, in that capacity, an admirable spy; for he let none part from him sober, if it were possible to get them drunk; and his great artifice was pushing idolatrous healths of his good master, and being always in haste, for the *King is coming*, which was his word. Nor, to make sure work, would he scruple to put his master's salutiferous drops (which were called the King's, of the nature of Goddard's) into the glasses; and being an Hercules, well breathed at the sport himself, he commonly had the better, and so fished out many secrets, and discovered men's characters, which the King could never have obtained the knowledge of by any other means. Jeffreys and Chiffinch were associates at first only, it is conjectured, that the former might furnish secrets; afterwards a friendship arose, such as is apt to grow up between immoderate drinkers. This man was the royal pimp, and used to find constant employment in discovering new faces for his master. He lived much with Nell Gwyn, at Filberd's, which was a favourite seat of the King in Berkshire; and it was his duty to see that every accommodation was provided for the fair courtezans. It was Chiffinch who introduced the priest Hudleston to King Charles II.'s dying bed, when the bishops were requested to with-

* Woolrych.

draw for a season, little dreaming that their sovereign was on better terms with the Pope than with the followers of Luther. The first pension from the court of France was paid into his hands while the ministry knew nothing of the transaction.*

DUKE OF GRAFTON. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, born 1663, a natural son of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, and consequently half brother to Monmouth. He was of a brave and martial spirit, was brought up to the sea, and had been in several naval expeditions. He married the only daughter of the Earl of Arlington.

ROBERT FERGUSON, the extrordinary character who has had frequent mention made of him in these pages, figured in several reigns as a creature of fiction rather than of real life.

He was of Letterpin, in Scotland, and possessed during the Protectorate a living in Kent, from which he was ejected in 1662. After this he taught the classics at Islington, and was an assistant and also an occasional amanuensis to Dr. Owen in the latter part of that great Nonconformist's life.† He was subtle, plausible, bold, and daring; and so was figured by Dryden as the *False Hebronite.* For many years he wrote against the government with great animosity. He was with the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge. It may be truly said of him that he was *Procella patriæ, turbo ac tempestas pacis atque otii.*‡ The Duke of Monmouth called Ferguson "a bloody rogue;" which we are bound to receive

* North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford.
† Orme's Life of Dr. Owen.
‡ Cicero pro domo suâ ad Pontifices.

in a literal sense. When Carstairs was tortured in 1683, he said Ferguson had met him, and said that for the saving of innocent blood it would be necessary to cut off a few, meaning the King and the Duke of York.* Ferguson had a chapel in Moorfields, in which he preached to great multitudes. Being implicated in the plot, he was obliged to fly to Holland, June, 1683, in company with Lord Grey, and the mistress of that lord, who was his lordship's sister-in-law; but Ferguson was not very scrupulous. On one occasion, when Sunday, November 19., had been fixed upon for an insurrection, there were objections raised against the choice of the Sabbath for such an occasion; but Ferguson said, "that the sanctity of the day was suitable to the sanctity of the work." Burnet says he passed for an enthusiast. Oldmixon, in his aversion to Ferguson, hazards an opinion that he was a traitor and a spy, as well as a secret agent for King James II., and that he set on Monmouth to assume the title of King. Those who knew Ferguson best had the lowest opinion of his moral character. Should Monmouth succeed, it is said Ferguson had a promise of being made Archbishop of Canterbury.† He was chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth's army.

Ford Lord Grey, of Werk, the eldest son of Ralph, the second Lord Grey, was Monmouth's principal associate and follower in his rebellion, where some have viewed his influence as that of an evil genius. He has certainly appeared in an inconsistent light, as a versatile character, and very puzzling to biographers. Probably the epithets—dastardly, traitorous, infamous, and many other expletives, have been too liberally applied.

* Ralph. † A tract published at Milan.

Lord Grey was a man of those times, that is, a bad man. He has found writers who have singled him out from his cotemporaries, and tried him by a modern standard. Thanks to the Great Disposer of mankind, who has graciously allowed a vast improvement to be worked in public men since his day, this must be considered as great injustice.

Lord Grey was to have commanded the cavalry under his friend the Duke of Monmouth at the business in Scotland, which terminated in the rout at Bothwell Bridge. Scruples were raised as to invading Scotland. Lord Grey entertained these, laid down his command, and refused to go.*

Dryden seized upon a very untrue characteristic of this political nobleman, when he styled him "Cold Caleb," in his poem.† The seduction of his sister-in-law, Lady Henrietta Berkeley, has given him an unenviable notoriety in Howell's State Trials for the opposite quality. Though found guilty, his party and the opposite side were drawing swords together on leaving the court in 1682. Nothing could induce Lord Grey to break off the connection. He, his paramour, Ferguson, and others, escaped from an arm of the sea, near Chichester, June 29. 1683, in the "Hare Pink," the master of which had 40*l.*, his men 20*l.*, to convey them to Holland.‡ There the Scotch gentlemen felt disgusted at the connection between Lord Grey and this lady; and were not — a fact highly creditable to their principles—on good terms with the English noble exile.

The principal associate of Monmouth, still the world made free with the name of his wife in reference to the

* North's Examen, 80. † Absalom and Achitophel.

‡ State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Collection Domestic, 195. 210.

Duke; and subsequent conduct has been attributed to a desire of revenge for injury sustained in that particular. Some lines will illustrate this: —

> "Next Monmouth came in with an army of fools,
> BETRAYED BY HIS CUCKOLD and other dull tools,
> Who painted the turf of green Sedgemoor with gules." *

Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs† contain the scandal of the day upon Lord Grey's conduct, which gave the censorious world leave to say that he betrayed Monmouth, in revenge for private injuries received in his family; that the failure of the horse commanded by him was intentional; while the cheerful behaviour and conversation after the capture of himself and the Duke seemed to prove the little alarm he was under for his safety. Add to this, the escape from a messenger, who was conducting him to the Tower after the Rye-House Plot; and a strange story that Colonel Holmes discovered the thing so plainly three days before the battle, that he told the Duke Lord Grey was either a coward or a knave, and that with permission he would secure him, without which he despaired of success; upon which the Duke remarked that it was then too late. Lord Grey's conduct at Sedgemoor has been described. The flight from Bridport has never found an apologist, and is set down as sheer cowardice. Still Lord Grey has the credit of successfully opposing the general desertion proposed at Frome. He may have been brave in council, without being personally brave. Was he not, as Euripides makes Medea say of woman: —

Κακή τ' ἐς ἀλκὴν καὶ σίδηρον εἰσορᾷν.

* Notes by Sir Walter Scott to Absalom and Achitophel.

† A Memoir of the Reign of James II. by John first Viscount Lonsdale, p. 12., printed for private distribution by the present Earl of Lonsdale.

Dr. Peter Mews, Meaux or Mew, was the son of Elisha Mews, of Purse Caundel, Dorsetshire. He was born there March 25. 1618. He was educated at Merchant Tailors' School by his uncle, Dr. Winnif, and thence was elected a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, 1637. During the rebellion he became an officer of the King's army in Holland, 1648, having been ejected from his living; but he returned and proceeded LL. D. 1660. Burnet writes that he had been secretary to Middleton, when he was sent to command the insurrection the Highlanders attempted to make for the King in Scotland. After that he came into orders, though he knew very little of divinity, or of any other learning, and was weak to a childish degree, yet obsequiousness and zeal without knowledge, and, I may add, without virtue, raised him, by several steps, to this great see* (Winchester). The same party writer, Oldmixon, adds, that he knew him, and could say a great deal more of him, but he did not think it worth while. Dr. Mews was, after several preferments, made Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1672. As a set off to Oldmixon, we may quote Wood's Athenæ Oxon., where the Bishop is described as "much beloved and admired for his hospitality, generosity, justice, and frequent preaching." In the diocese of Bath and Wells he was greatly beloved by the loyal gentry, who were almost unanimous in all elections and public affairs during his residence among them. On the death of Bishop Morley he was translated to Winchester, November 22. 1684.†

When Monmouth's landing lighted up the torch of civil discord, and war was brought to the doors of the peaceful, who were alarmed for the results, the gentry

* Burnet interpolated by Oldmixon.
† Hutchins's Dorset.

of Somerset requested the King to command the services of the Bishop in arms against the Duke of Monmouth. Bishop Mews obeyed the call, and was the only bishop since the Reformation who has taken the field. At a critical moment the Bishop put his coach-horses to the guns, and brought them to bear upon the followers of Monmouth, who were mowed down from a quarter they least expected, having avoided, as they thought, the King's cannon, which were posted on Sedgemoor, between Weston and Bridgwater. For his management of the artillery, the Bishop was presented with a rich medal. Milner says Mews could not withstand the temptation of proving his ancient military courage and skill.* Had the *Peace Society* existed in that day, what philippics would not have been pronounced against the Bishop? A writer, lately deceased †, is irate with Burnet's remarks, and after launching out into panegyric upon the warlike prelate, whom Oldmixon judged to be "fitter for a bombardier than a bishop," proceeds to justify him, and, in doing so, the King, whose cause he supported. The Rev. S. Hyde Cassan has deliberately recorded that he saw no reason why a bishop should not take the field "if he can thereby serve his King!!!" The reverend writer quite forgot that we are each to "do our duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call us." The bishop has found an engraver, D. Loggan, who, under his portrait, sets these words, which well epitomise his character: *P. Mews, qui pugnavit et oravit pro pace regni et ecclesiæ.* (P. Mews, who fought and prayed for the peace of the kingdom, and of the church.) The engraver clearly gives in this descriptive line a precedence

* History of Winchester.

† Rev. Stephen Hyde Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Winchester.

to his martial achievements—*fighting* before praying; the peace of the *kingdom* before that of the Church. Mews was doubtless brave and loyal. Hospitality* in Charles II.'s reign is not to be understood, we fear, in the scriptural sense, though applied to a bishop. It may be, perhaps, more correctly rendered *conviviality.* A well-known bishop has spoken of that period in which he lived as a "mad roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk."† There is no probability of any of our present bishops disturbing Dr. Mews in the post he occupies—as the only one since the Reformation, and the last who took the field. Should any one, however, be tempted by a desire for bearing arms; and by opportunity (which God forbid), let us not dread the possibility of his seeing no reason why he should not take the field. St. Paul's third chapter of the 1st of Timothy, furnishes ample reason. Amongst other clear directions, a bishop must be "no striker."

Sir William Portman was a member of Parliament for the county of Somerset, and resided at the ancient seat of his family, Orchard Portman House, near Taunton, lately pulled down. Sir William Portman went all lengths as an abhorrer, or one of the Court party. He had a commission as deputy-lieutenant, empowering him to march with his militia into any of the neighbouring counties in the absence of the lieutenants. His diary of this rebellion is lost. Sir

* φιλοξενος is certainly not applicable to entertaining (of itself a good thing, and tending to promote unanimity) the Somersetshire gentry when living amongst them.

† Burnet.

W. Portman was the last of the family that lived at Orchard Portman. He purchased Bryanstone, near Blandford, and, dying a principal secretary of state in 1695, left his estate to his nephew, Henry Seymour, Esq., who took the name of Portman, from whom is descended the present Lord Portman.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, the proud DUKE OF SOMERSET, born 12th August, 1662, who headed the Somersetshire militia. His domestics obeyed him by signs. As they were once clearing the road before him, meeting a countryman driving a pig, they desired him to get out of the way. "My Lord Duke," they said, "is coming, and he does not choose to be looked at." The independent Englishman seized his pig by the ears, exclaiming, "Not see him! why I'll see him myself, and my pig shall see him too!"*

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE FAMILY OF SPEKE,

Illustrative of the Individuals who were concerned with the Duke of Monmouth, and of the genius of the times which this History embraces.

THE SPEKES are descended from Sir Walter L'Espek, who founded Rivaulx, Kirkham, and Warham abbeys, in Yorkshire, about A. D. 1136. His daughter married Peter Lord Roos, from whom the Duke of Rutland derives his pedigree. In one of the small chapels of Exeter Cathedral lies the statue of Sir George Speke, a work of the middle of the sixteenth century. The

* Memoirs of the Court of England, by Jesse.

family was of Brampford Speke from the time of the Conqueror.

The Spekes moved into Somersetshire about the middle of the fifteenth century, in consequence of a marriage with the heiress of Beauchamp, of White Lackington, near Ilminster. White Lackington House became their seat; in more recent years Dillington House, near the former. To record shrievalties, &c. is not the object of this work. One of the family joined Perkin Warbeck.

George Speke, Esq., in the middle of the last century, had two daughters, one of whom, Mary, died unmarried; the other, a rich heiress, married Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford. The grandfather of the present head of the family recovered from that nobleman, then Lord North, and prime minister, the estate of Dewlish, which was considered a surprising feat, and a proof of the real existence of the "majesty of law" in our happy land. The family was near becoming extinct, in which case the great William Pitt, who was in the entail, would have succeeded to the estates. The family seat is Jordans, near Ilminster. The late William Hanning, Esq. purchased White Lackington, Dillington, and Barrington properties and houses, the two former of Lady Guilford, which are possessed by his son, J. Lee Lee, Esq., of Dillington Park, in which a new mansion has been erected.

The following memoir is principally drawn from a curious work, kindly lent by the head of the Speke family, entitled "The Secret History of the Happy Revolution in 1688. Humbly dedicated to his most gracious Majesty King George [the First]. By the principal transactor in it. London: printed for the author, by S. Keimer, at the printing-press in Paternoster-row,

1715." The writer was Mr. Hugh Speke, the second son of George Speke, Esq.: —

George Speke, Esq., of White Lackington House, descended in the twenty-third degree from Richard, the first who settled in Somersetshire, was a gallant defender of the royal cause in the time of Charles I. When Prince Rupert was carrying on the siege of Bridgwater, and labouring under the greatest pecuniary difficulties, Mr. Speke sent him a thousand broad pieces, which the Prince declared to Charles II. he had never asked to be reimbursed. The same gentleman raised many horse and foot, and spent many thousand pounds in the service of Charles I.; was a hostage at the surrender of Bridgwater to Sir Thomas Fairfax; was imprisoned several years by Cromwell, and after having been condemned to death was admitted to composition at a sum amounting to nearly ten thousand pounds. From the Restoration to the time of the popish plot, in 1678, Mr. Speke lived in retirement at his seat, never once visiting the metropolis. Both the father and Mr. John Speke, the eldest son, now participated in the excitement of this strange period, viewed with horror the destructive schemes of the court, and yielded to the solicitations of the freeholders to oppose members who had voted against the famous Exclusion Bill. Mr. Speke became a knight of the shire for Somerset in 1679; his son, Mr. John Speke, member for the county town, Ilchester. As he was not one to be won over to the Court, the latter had recourse to fraud, oppression, and violence, as Hugh Speke records. It was stated at Court, that on Mr. Speke's return from the election he had said he would have "forty thousand men to assist in the service of the Duke of Monmouth against the Duke of York whenever occasion should be." Mr. Speke was innocent of having used such

language: he had opposed the Duke of York, but by legal means.

When Mr. Speke was at dinner in his hall, in company with a noble peer and six or seven members of the House of Commons, his son, and one who afterwards became his son-in-law, Mr. Trenchard, also members, Blundell, a messenger, appeared with a warrant. All these gentlemen engaged for Mr. Speke's attendance on the King and council with as much despatch as his age could permit him to travel. The messenger civilly departed, and soon after Mr. Speke went to the council chamber, attended by several of the nobility and many of the most considerable gentry of the west of England, to the number of upwards of forty. Being called in, the charge was read by the Lord Chancellor, in the presence of the King and Prince Rupert. Mr. Speke defended himself with spirit, and put the King in mind of the services rendered his father and himself. Prince Rupert caused Mr. Speke to withdraw, and then confirmed all that Mr. Speke had said of his services, and caused the charges to be withdrawn. He entertained Mr. Speke at dinner.

Among other intercepted letters of this date in the State Paper Office is one from a son of George Speke, who thus writes of his father: "Since his return, notwithstanding the number of entreaties and advices to be silent, and not concern himself with public affairs by words, yet the truth is he gives himself more liberty, talks more at random and dangerous than ever formerly, which is a great affliction to all his friends."*

The reception of the Duke of Monmouth at the family

* State Paper Office, May 12. 1680. A bundle, Domestic, 1680, 1681.

mansion in the course of his western progress has been treated of elsewhere. Mr. George Speke sat with Sir W. Portman in parliament for Somerset from 1679 to 1681.

Mr. Hugh Speke, the second son, a member of the Bar, came into the political arena in 1684, by writing a letter to his friend Sir Robert Atkyns concerning the supposed murder of the Earl of Essex. The bearer of this letter was Lawrence Braddon, a well-known character, who, having greatly interested himself in this inquiry, was arrested at Bradford, in Wiltshire, upon a charge of "spreading false news," as Burnet reports, and Hugh Speke's letter was found about his person.—See the case in *Howell's State Trials.*

Mr. Hugh Speke was taken into the custody of a messenger, Thomas Saywell, and detained in his house in a most expensive manner, with a guard of soldiers night and day for eighteen weeks, at the expiration of which time he was admitted to bail.* Five days after he was arrested in his barrister's gown, at the gate of Westminster Hall, in an action of *scandalum magnatum,* at the suit of the Duke of York, and carried to the Gate-house prison. Mr. H. Speke spent a thousand pounds in defending this action, which was countermanded the night before it was to have been tried at the Hertford assizes. The object of this vexatious proceeding was evidently to prevent Mr. H. Speke from assisting Mr. Braddon in his investigation respecting the murder of the Earl of Essex, then being proceeded with. Being prosecuted as a sower of sedition, before Judge Jeffreys, Mr. Hugh Speke was condemned to

* In the State Paper Office is a letter from Saywell, stating that Mr. Speke had refused to pay for his board and accommodation, so he had put him up in a garret.

pay one thousand pounds, and to find security for his good behaviour. He was committed to the King's Bench prison, where he continued at a great expense for more than four years. The liberty of the rules of the Bench was at first procured at a considerable charge, and upon giving unexceptionable security. This favour was considered to be too great, and he was arrested and subjected to close confinement. This imprisonment accounts for Mr. Hugh Speke's absence from Monmouth's army. This gentleman, unlike Dubourg in the dungeon of Mont St. Michael, and other prisoners — who only sought some trifling amusement or occupation to while away the time — planned and executed designs of great importance. Lodged under the Rev. Samuel Johnson, who was in custody for writing a book entitled "Julian the Apostate," Mr. Speke engaged his fellow-prisoner to write several political pieces, particularly an important one, in the Protestant interest, known as "Advice to the Army." Mr. Speke had a private printing press, at which, through a faithful hand, this and others were printed without detection. The writer, however, was betrayed; and, besides a fine being imposed upon him, was cruelly whipped from Newgate to Tyburn.

The conviction of Mr. Charles Speke, Mr. George Speke's younger son, and execution at Ilminster, though innocent, and the fine imposed upon the esquire, his father, for a pretended riot, in rescuing Mr. John Trenchard, his son-in-law, from the arrest of a messenger, and his absconding after the battle of Sedgemoor, have been treated of in the course of the narrative.

Mr. Hugh Speke continued in prison; but was desirous of obtaining his liberty. He addressed the Marquis of Powis, to know from the King upon what con-

ditions he might be released. The answer returned was, that nothing could be done till his father's and his own fines were paid, amounting in all to 2327*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and till security was given by his father in the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and himself in ten thousand pounds, for their good behaviour. Mr. Hugh Speke was well able to pay the fines; but being determined to oppose the King, he would not expose his friends to the risk of being security for him. At last the King himself proposed to Mr. Hugh Speke that he should pay into the Exchequer 5000*l.*, as a pledge of his own and family's good behaviour, with the Royal promise that in case they demeaned themselves to his satisfaction that sum should be returned at the expiration of that time, and a pardon granted to George Speke, Esq. the father, Mary Speke, his wife, to Hugh Speke, the son, and Mary Jennings, his sister, a widow, who (the latter) was obnoxious to the Court, but against whom there never had been a prosecution.

Mr. Hugh Speke acceded to these terms; and in 1686 retired from London, which he judged to be no proper place for his residence, to Exeter, where he was chosen city council.

JOHN TRENCHARD, the movement-man of the west of England, often referred to in historical works as Sir John Trenchard, Knight, was born in 1640. His connection with politics was drawn closer by his marriage with Anne, daughter of George Speke, Esq. His father-in-law was fined two thousand marks for a riot, in reseuing him from the hands of a messenger, who came at midnight to White Lackington House to arrest him. Mr. Trenchard was committed to the Tower, June 6. 1684, for high treason, at the same time as

Lord W. Russell.* Reference has been made to his triumphant entry into Somersetshire after this. He fled with Mr. Speke, to escape arrest after the landing of Monmouth.

Lady Henrietta Maria Wentworth, Baroness of Nettlestead in her own right, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Wentworth, grandchild and heir of the Earl of Cleveland. She resided at Toddington, in the county of Bedford. Her mother hurried her from town in 1680, from a discovery she made, in spite of short sight, with respect to her daughter and the Duke of Monmouth. Notwithstanding it was to Toddington that the Duke repaired when he absconded in 1683. The Earl of Feversham sought Lady Henrietta Wentworth in marriage. She preferred being the Duke of Monmouth's mistress.

* Bayley's Hist. of the Tower.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SEQUEL TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

DUKE OF BEAUFORT. — DUKE OF ALBEMARLE. — LORD DELAMERE. — COLONEL DORE. — ROBERT FERGUSON. — EARL OF FEVERSHAM. — ANDREW FLETCHER. — DUKE OF GRAFTON. — LORD GREY. — NATHANIEL HOOK. — LORD LUMLEY. — DR. MEWS. — SPEKE FAMILY. — SIR JOHN TRENCHARD. — NATHANIEL WADE. — CAPTAIN TREVANION. — MR. TUTCHIN, OR PITTS.

NOVELISTS, with the universal approbation of their readers, frequently append some brief mention of the future lives and fate of their heroes and heroines. Lovers are united, and we learn their peaceful settlement, and the number of their children; — the wicked persevere in their ungodly course, but the sequel informs us how vengeance, at last, awaited them; — the proud are humbled; — the guilty are detected; — and, occasionally, some catastrophes are developed, not anticipated by the attentive reader.

Considering that interest will have been created in some characters who figure in this work, and who might, many of them, be supposed to come rather within the province of fiction than that of history, some mention of their subsequent lives and singular fate is appended, which it is hoped may prove acceptable.

Henry Somerset, first DUKE of BEAUFORT, as we have read, was lord-lieutenant of the county and city of Bristol, and showed great activity in suppressing the Rebellion, and in securing Bristol against the Duke

of Monmouth. His Grace hastened to that city to react the same part against the Prince of Orange; but found how great a change had taken place in the feelings of the people. Men openly in the streets cried for sale halfpenny papers of the landing of the Prince. The Duke of Beaufort could do nothing, so withdrew. He refused to take the oaths to William III., and died in retirement, in 1699. — *Seyer's Bristol.*

DUKE CHRISTOPHER, the only son of Monk, the great Duke of Albemarle, in whom that title became extinct, was lord-lieutenant of Devonshire, and entirely ruined in fortune. He was persuaded by some speculators to join in partnership with them for the purpose of weighing up a Spanish galleon, sunk near the island of Jamaica. In order to facilitate their proceedings, he procured himself, writes Sir H. Ellis, to be made governor of that island, May 31. 1686, where he died in 1688. Tradition goes, that the Duchess, his widow, cheated the other partners of their share of the money recovered, and sailed, with the whole in her possession, to England. Here she became mad, and determined to marry no one but the Grand Turk. Ralph, Duke of Montague, attracted by her riches, wooed and inarried her, disguised in a Turkish dress. He then shut her up, and built with her money Montague House, now the British Museum.

LORD DELAMERE (Henry Booth) was sent with the MARQUIS of HALIFAX to desire James, on the part of the Prince of Orange, that he would quit Whitehall. — *Grainger.*

COLONEL DORE was pardoned, and was afterwards active in dethroning James. — *Milner's History of Winchester.*

Robert Ferguson escaped in the direction of North Somerset and Devon. Among other reports, it was affirmed that he fell into the hands of the royalists the third day after the battle. Ralph, who had heard this, adds, "Why he should be spared surpasses the power of conjecture." I can find information of the pursuit of Ferguson, and expressions of hope that he would be captured; but nothing of his having been taken, which I disbelieve. He lived to take an active part in promoting the Revolution, and landed with the Prince of Orange. The Dissenters of Exeter received the Prince with coldness; and while the established clergy refused to hear Bishop Burnet, the Nonconformist pastors would have nothing to do with the Reverend Mr. Ferguson. On his arrival in that city he expressed a wish to preach: the Dissenters, however, refused him the keys of the meeting-house. "Then," he exclaimed, laughing, "I will take the kingdom of heaven by violence;" and calling for a hammer, he broke open the door with his own hand, forced his way with his sword to the pulpit, and preached from Psalm xciv. 16, "Who will rise up for me against evil doers?" This proceeding tended to injure the Prince's cause among the Dissenters; yet they expressed their willingness to support him as soon as they became acquainted with his views, and saw him surrounded by gentlemen of influence and character.*

Ferguson was liberally rewarded by William III. In 1689 he published a miserable broad sheet, called his apology for his conduct for these last ten years, both in England and foreign parts. Its object was to gain the favour of the Church of England party.

* Murch. Hist. of Presbyterian, &c. Churches.

After this he is said to have turned Jacobite, and spent his life in continual agitation.

He was in a plot of the Scotch Presbyterians, who united with the Jacobites one year after the Revolution. He was betrayed, but got off.* Death overtook him at an advanced age in 1714, poor and despised both by his brethren and the world.†

The EARL OF FEVERSHAM was made general of the army by James, upon the alarm of the Prince of Orange's design to invade the kingdom. He took care to disband this army with all possible expedition, to prevent it from revolting to the Prince. He was for this, and some other matters, confined for a short time in Windsor Castle. He was much at Court in the reign of William III. He died, April 8. 1709, aged 68, and was buried in the Savoy, but removed to Westminster Abbey in 1740.

ANDREW FLETCHER reached Spain in the Duke's frigate, after killing Dare at Lyme. He went to Hungary, where he distinguished himself in a war against the Turks, and once more joined the Scottish refugees in Holland, and at the Revolution resumed possession of his estate. He was a member of the convention for settling the new government in Scotland, and was very hostile the latter part of his life to William III., from disapproving of his designs.‡ In 1698 he printed "A Discourse on Government in relation to Militias;" and also two discourses concerning the affairs of Scotland. In 1703 he opposed a vote of supply, until the House should consider what was necessary to secure the religion and liberties of the

* Sir W. Scott's notes to Absalom, &c.

† Orme's Life of Dr. Owen. ‡ Lockhart's Memoirs.

nation on the death of the Queen (Anne), and carried various limitations of the prerogative forming part of the Act of Security, rendered nugatory by the Scottish union, which he vehemently opposed. He died in London in 1716. His tracts, and some of his speeches, have been published in one volume 8vo., entitled, "The Poetical Works of Andrew Fletcher, Esq."

DUKE OF GRAFTON. When the Duke of Somerset declined conducting the Pope's nuncio, the Archbishop of Amasia, to a public audience in 1687, James prevailed upon the Duke of Grafton to perform that ceremony, and he accordingly conducted him to Windsor.

The Duke of Grafton, together with Prince George, Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, and Colonel Trelawney, brother of the Bishop of Bristol, met the Prince of Orange near Sherborne, having deserted the cause of James. The Prince of Orange is said to have saluted them in the words of David to the men of Judah and Benjamin, 1 Chron. xii. 17., "If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, mine heart shall be knit unto you: but if ye come to betray me to mine enemies, seeing there is no wrong in mine hand, the God of our fathers look thereto and rebuke it."

And they replied in the words of Amasai, 18th verse, "Thine are we David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee."

Then David made them captains of the band.*

The Duke of Grafton accompanied the Earl of Marlborough to Ireland in 1690, and received his death-wound, September 28., whilst leading on the grenadiers

* Janeway's Coll. of State Papers.

to the breach in the walls of Cork. He is buried at Euston in Suffolk.*

FORD LORD GREY had a great estate, which was, at his death, to go to his brother Ralph Grey, Esq., whom the Court looked upon with an evil eye, so they resolved to preserve him till he should be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of Rochester had 16,000*l.* of him; others had smaller shares. He was obliged to tell all he knew, and the Lord Brandon, Gerard, and Mr. John Hampden, were prosecuted on his evidence.† When in the Tower, he wrote a relation of his connection with the treason of the late reign, for the use of James II., by Sunderland's command, better known as the "Secret History of the Rye-House Plot," which was published in 1754. Dalrymple writes that ill-natured people imputed the pardon obtained by Sunderland, November 12. 1685, for Lord Grey, to the prudent silence preserved with respect to any mention of connection between Monmouth and Bentinck. William III. created him, in 1695, Earl Tankarville and Viscount Grey of Glendale: he was soon after appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Privy Seal. This supposes considerable abilities. Lord Grey died in 1701.

NATHANIEL HOOK, the Duke of Monmouth's private chaplain (as Ferguson was of the army), and an Independent preacher, having been sent from Bridgwater to London, to forward the rising which Danvers and others had undertaken to create, lay concealed till June 21. 1688, when he threw himself at James II.'s feet, and procured a pardon. Hook is a remarkable instance of the effect produced by striking historical eras, in bringing forth extraordinary characters, and working

* Grainger, &c. † Oldmixon.

metamorphoses in individuals. Hook, the Independent preacher, the follower of Monmouth, became a Roman Catholic, and a zealous partisan of King James, whom he followed into exile, and an officer of the French army, in which service he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General! Though of good sense enough in conversation, he became extremely vain and haughty. He is spoken of by Lockhart, in his memoirs, as a subtle, pragmatical fellow, who was sent over to Scotland in 1705, where he showed a "great concern to raise a combustion." He was more bent on a civil war, which the King of France, now become his master, wanted, than to serve King James. He raised a great schism; but we must not forget that he served the French King, and not James, at the time. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Menin in 1706, and was hardly persuaded not to tell the Duke of Argyle he had been in Scotland the year before. In 1708 he was sent plenipotentiary to the Jacobite party in that country. (See Lockhart's Memoirs, p. 197.—Sir H. Ellis's Letters, second series.)

Lord Lumley, the ancestor of the present Earl of Scarborough, who was so active in the capture of Monmouth, in company with Sir William Portman, was a late convert from popery, and had undertaken to head an insurrection if the Prince of Orange would land in the North. When Russell came over to further the Revolution, he communicated the matter first to the Earl of Shrewsbury, then to the Lord Lumley.

Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, the last of his order who has taken the field, and shed blood, was ready to attend James II., 2nd October, 1688, as he had the Earl of Feversham before.* When James was

* Sir H. Ellis's Letters, 2d series.

deserted by the Prince and Princess of Denmark, and he was in the utmost perplexity and distress, not being able to distinguish friends from foes, he sent a lady to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishop of Winchester, offering to place himself in their hands if they would undertake for his personal safety. According to one account "they neither accepted the motion nor rejected it*;" but other authorities, including the King himself, state that they could not undertake to protect him against the ambitious designs and foreign troops of the Prince of Orange.† Bishop Mews had some reason for being dissatisfied with the King. He adhered to William III., and died Nov. 9. 1706, aged 89, and lies buried in the Angel Guardian Chapel in Winchester Cathedral. His death is said to have been caused by drinking a phial of hartshorn given to him by mistake. The Rev. S. H. Cassan writes that it was the bishop's nephew who was killed in this manner.

There is a portrait of Dr. Mews in Farnham Palace, with a battle in the back-ground; the patch covering a wound, from which the bishop's nick name Patch, is not wanting. Another is in the Grand Jury Room, Wells, with a helmet at the feet, and the Order of the Garter, of which the Bishops of Winchester are the prelates. A similar one is at Orchard Portman, the seat of Lord Egremont. There is said to be one in the palace at Wells.

Sir Bevill Skelton was recalled from France, September, 1688, and on his arrival was committed to the Tower for having exceeded his instructions; but was soon released, and shortly afterwards was made

* Reresby, 312.

† Chaillot MS. "Britain's Just Complaint," and quoted by Wallace, continuation of Sir James Mackintosh's History of England.

lieutenant of that fortress. — *Bayley's History of the Tower.*

DUKE OF SOMERSET. The nuncio from Pope Innocent XI. arrived, and was to have an audience of the King, 3d July, 1687. Crew, Bishop of Durham, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, were ready instruments in this parade; but the Duke of Somerset, the second peer of the kingdom, who was selected to introduce D'Adda, the Archbishop of Amasia, besought his Majesty to excuse him from the performance of an act, which, by the laws of the land, was still considered an overt act of treason. "Do you not know," said James, "that I am above the law?" The Duke replied, "Your Majesty is so, but I am not." The Duke pertinaciously resisted, and was dismissed, at the age of twenty-five, from all his employments. He died December 2. 1748.

MR. HUGH SPEKE remained at Exeter till a short time before the landing of the Prince of Orange, when he removed to London, where he conceived his services would be greater than in the West.

He frequently attended at Whitehall, where, as he affirms, he diligently observed the countenances of the courtiers. On one occasion the Marquis of Powis took him aside, and expressed hopes that Mr. Speke and all his family would be zealous in the King's service at that critical juncture, as his Majesty had been graciously pleased to favour them with his pardon. Mr. Hugh Speke undeceived the Marquis as to a gracious pardon, which had been purchased at a sum exceeding double the value of the fines imposed, besides the irretrievable loss of his innocent younger brother. His lordship informed Mr. Speke that the 5000*l.* had been applied to the fortification of Portsmouth harbour, but that he

would undertake the immediate repayment of this sum, upon an assurance of Mr. Speke's and his family's rendering service to the King in that extreme conjuncture. His lordship made a memorandum of Mr. H. Speke's address.

The day after a letter from William Chiffinch, Esq., already mentioned as closet-keeper to the King, was received by Mr. Speke, containing an order for him to attend at Mr. Chiffinch's lodgings the following evening at six o'clock. When Mr. Speke arrived, the King immediately came down stairs, and entered into a long conversation with him. In this he expressed himself, as well knowing that Mr. Speke could do him far more important services than any gentleman in England, because he knew not only all the most considerable gentlemen of the West of England, where he believed the Prince of Orange would land, but also those English gentlemen who would attend him in his expedition. The sufferings of himself and family, through, as his Majesty was pleased to say, *misinformation* in his reign, would render him entirely agreeable and unsuspected at the Prince of Orange's court.

In a word, his Majesty concluded with an earnest request for Mr. Speke to meet the Prince of Orange as soon as he should land, and give as a spy intelligence of his strength and designs. For this he was to receive not only the 5000*l.* extorted for his pardon, but also five thousand guineas more, which Mr. Chiffinch was to deposit in the hands of any goldsmith Mr. Speke should name, to be received when the services had been performed.

Mr. Speke, struck at the importance of the service, prayed for a day to consider the matter, which the King granted; and the subject of this memoir fell into deep

reflections, not, he says, as to whether he should accept the King's offers, but in what manner he should accept, and how he should improve, that offer for the advancing those ends he always had in view as to the interest, honour, and security of his religion and country.

The result of this deliberation was, that he resolved to make use of the opportunity Providence had put into his hands, to join the Prince of Orange without danger. Intending to render no service to James, he judged it to be more honourable to decline receiving any money from him. He waited upon his Majesty the next evening, and expressed the impossibility of his accepting the proposed service unless he was allowed to take his own measures and methods to effect it, which was, that his Majesty should grant him three blank passes, one of them signed by his own hand, and the other two by the Earl of Feversham, the general of the King's army, without which he and his agents might be detained and ill-used in travelling to and fro.

These Mr. Speke received two days after from the King's own hand:—

"*Lewis Earl of Feversham, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces.*

"Suffer the bearer hereof to pass and repass freely at all hours, times, and seasons, without any molestation, interruption, or denial. "FEVERSHAM.

"To all officers,
Military and Civil."

His Majesty told Mr. Speke, upon handing to him the passes, that he looked upon his generous refusal of being repaid 5000*l.*, and having 5000*l.* secured to him, as marks of the sincerity of his intentions to serve him. All letters were to be addressed to his Majesty, under cover to Mr. Richard Collins, who was afterwards one

of the Commissioners of his revenues when James II. landed in Ireland from France.

Soon after this, news came of the Prince of Orange having landed. Mr. Speke was ordered to set out forthwith for Exeter, which he did. He was detained at Sturminster Newton by a captain of horse till the pass was sent to the Earl of Arran, the colonel, at Salisbury.

When at Honiton, within sixteen miles of Exeter, where Colonel Talmash commanded a battalion as an advanced guard to the Prince of Orange, Mr. Speke alighted for two hours, and disclosed the whole matter upon which he was employed to his particular friend the colonel. This officer was greatly pleased, and sent a letter which procured a private introduction to the Prince at Exeter, in the presence of Duke Schomberg and Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland. The Prince was satisfied, from information obtained from the principal gentlemen who had joined, that Mr. Speke was sincere in his desire to serve him. He honoured him with his confidence, and perused the letters which Mr. Speke wrote to the King. The great object of all these was to create distrust of his officers, who were stated to be about to desert his cause and excite alarm in the King's breast. These at length caused the King to leave the army: the desertion of Prince George of Denmark (*Est-il possible?*), and the Duke of Ormond at Andover, confirmed his Majesty in an opinion of the discernment and sincerity of Mr. Speke.

Before leaving London the subject of this notice had drawn up in concert with a friend a declaration in the name of William Prince of Orange, styled the Third Declaration. The writer describes it as something "he judged proper to terrifie the Papists, and to inspire the

Protestants with courage." To show how things were managed at this time, we add, that when Mr. Speke directed it to be done, the paper was put under a bookseller's shop-door in the night, and was printed and circulated over most parts of the kingdom.

Bishop Burnet gives this graphic account of the proceeding: —

"A bold man ventured to draw and publish another declaration in the Prince's name. It was penned with great spirit, and it had as great an effect. It set forth the desperate designs of the Papists, and the extreme danger the nation was in by their means, and required all persons immediately to fall on such Papists as were in any employment, and to turn them out, and to secure all strong places, and to do every thing else that was in their power, in order to execute the laws, and to bring all things again into their proper channels. This set all men at work, for no doubt was made that it was truly the Prince's declaration. But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known who was the author of so bold a thing. No person ever claimed the merit of it; for though it had an amazing effect, yet, it seems, he that contrived it apprehended that the Prince would not be well pleased with the author of such an imposture in his name. The King was under such a consternation that he neither knew what to resolve on, nor whom to trust. This pretended declaration put the city in such a flame that it was carried to the lord mayor, and he was required to execute it. The apprentices got together, and were falling upon all mass-houses, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was so well governed, and so little resisted, that no other mischief was done; no blood was shed."

It was nearly producing a massacre of the Roman

Catholics. Bishop Burnet is incorrect in some points. Mr. Speke waited upon the Prince at Sherborne Castle with a copy, after some dozen copies had been sent from town by post. The Prince appeared at first surprised, and openly declared he knew nothing of it; but when he had read it and considered it, his Highness and all about him were not displeased, and were in a very short time made sensible that it had rendered a great deal of service. The author of the "History of Europe" calls it the boldest attempt ever made by a subject. The effect produced nearly all over England, and particularly in Scotland, was immense. Wallace writes — "One of the most awful and most groundless instances of panic terror on record now took momentary possession of men's imaginations. A cry was raised that the disbanded Irish soldiers were destroying all before them by fire and sword. Drums were beat through the streets of London and Westminster, to give notice of the coming enemy; lights were placed in the windows the better to descry them; the people in each quarter imagined the next in flames, or streaming with blood. The ringing of bells carried the news with telegraphic rapidity to the furthest corners of Great Britain. The inhabitants of each town or village imagined the Irish burning the houses and cutting the throats of their next neighbours. Pregnant women were frightened to premature childbirth; aged and infirm persons died of terror; the Protestants everywhere stood armed upon their guard, and resolved upon the first attack or danger to destroy all Papists and Irish within their reach."

Echard thinks Mr. Hugh Speke did not write this third declaration. Oldmixon says he could no more write it than Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. Wallace, who continued Sir J. Mackintosh's

History of England, writes, without assigning any reason for so concluding, that Mr. Hugh Speke is unworthy of credit, and calls him "the notorious Speke."

King James continued to the last to depend upon Mr. Hugh Speke. He sent Mr. Collins from Rochester to ask this gentleman's opinion whether he should retire or not into France. Mr. Speke pretended to take time to consider, but went immediately to Whitehall: the Prince of Orange approved of James's departure, and accordingly Mr. Speke wrote. Up to the peace of Ryswick, A.D. 1697, the exiled monarch kept up a correspondence with Mr. Speke, with William III.'s knowledge and direction. The filling any public office would have put King James upon his guard, so Mr. Speke would take none.

After King William's death Mr. Speke petitioned Anne to be reimbursed the five thousand pounds paid to James II. The matter was referred to Lord Godolphin, who ordered him a sum of one hundred pounds. George I. was solicited to pay the five thousand pounds, with what success does not appear. The book itself wears the appearance of a petition to the latter monarch.

Mr. G. Speke, petitioned the House of Commons, 10th May, 1689, respecting his fine, as having been imposed after illegal practices, particularly on the part of Burton and Graham, the crown solicitors, who had suborned indigent persons to swear against his lady. The committee to whom the petition was referred got rid of it, as they did of others, upon a technicality. Mr. Speke again petitioned, May 27., without obtaining redress. So numerous were the applicants, that the House despaired of being able to meet all their demands. — See *Commons' Journals.*

JOHN TRENCHARD was member for Dorsetshire in the convention parliament, which placed William and Mary on the throne. His services to William were rewarded by his being made first sergeant, then chief-justice of Chester, and a knight, and lastly, in the spring of 1693, secretary of state. He received this last appointment at the same time that Somers was elevated from the attorney-generalship to be lord-keeper; and these two appointments were held of great importance, as being signs of William's desire to return to the Whigs, from whom he had for a time alienated himself. In the spring of the next year Lord Shrewsbury returned to the other secretaryship of state, and the government was made completely Whig. Sir John Trenchard died on the 20th of April, 1695.

Opposite characters have been drawn of him by Anthony à Wood and Bishop Burnet. The former calls him "a man of turbulent and aspiring spirit." Burnet's character of him is as follows: "He had been engaged far with the Duke of Monmouth, as was told formerly. He got out of England, and lived some years beyond sea, and had a right understanding of affairs abroad. He was a calm and sedate man, and was much more moderate than could have been expected, since he was a leading man in a party. He had too great a regard to the stars and too little to religion." The last feature in the character which Burnet has drawn is illustrated by a story of Wood's. "An astrologer told him formerly that he should such a year be imprisoned, such a year like to be hanged, such a year be promoted to a great place in the law, such a year higher, and such a year die; which all came to pass, as he told Dr. Gibbons on his death-bed."

NATHANIEL WADE, the lawyer—the Major Wade of the Hardwicke State Papers—had left England because Rumsey swore he was in the Rye-House Plot for killing the King, which he denied, but owned his connection with it for redressing of grievances.* He was taken in a singular manner in Brendin parish, about July 26., after having been shot through the back. Between his fainting fits he detailed the marches of the Duke of Monmouth to the field of Sedgemoor; and Fox judged his narrative to be most deserving of credit. Wade, as well as Richard Goodenough, was a witness upon Lord Delamere's trial. He was made town-clerk of Bristol, 14th January, 1687, by the King's order.† I find him before the House of Lords, December 6. 1689, giving evidence as to who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders of the Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Mr. Cornish.‡

CAPTAIN TREVANION, who captured Monmouth's vessels at Lyme, with another officer, conducted James II. on board a smack when he fled.

Mr. TUTCHIN, or PITTS, paid a visit to Judge Jeffreys, when he was lodged in the Tower. He afterwards settled in Ireland, and died in consequence of a beating he received in revenge for some petulance displayed in his writings.

LADY HENRIETTA WENTWORTH despatched from Holland a servant with a letter to Sir William Smith, who was arrested by the mayor of Dover, and sent to

* Harleian MS., 6845.
† Seyer's History of Bristol. Harleian MS., 6845.
‡ Commons' Journals.

London, August 3. 1685.* This favourite mistress of the Duke of Monmouth died of a broken heart nine months after the execution of him for whom she had sacrificed her fair fame. Her mother survived her, and directed the large sum of 2000*l.* to be expended upon a monument in the church at Toddington. Two adjoining rooms are still called the Duke of Monmouth's parlour and my lady's parlour. Barillon writes that she bore a child by the Duke. The writer of a tract, published at Milan, states this lady had children by Monmouth.

* State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers.

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